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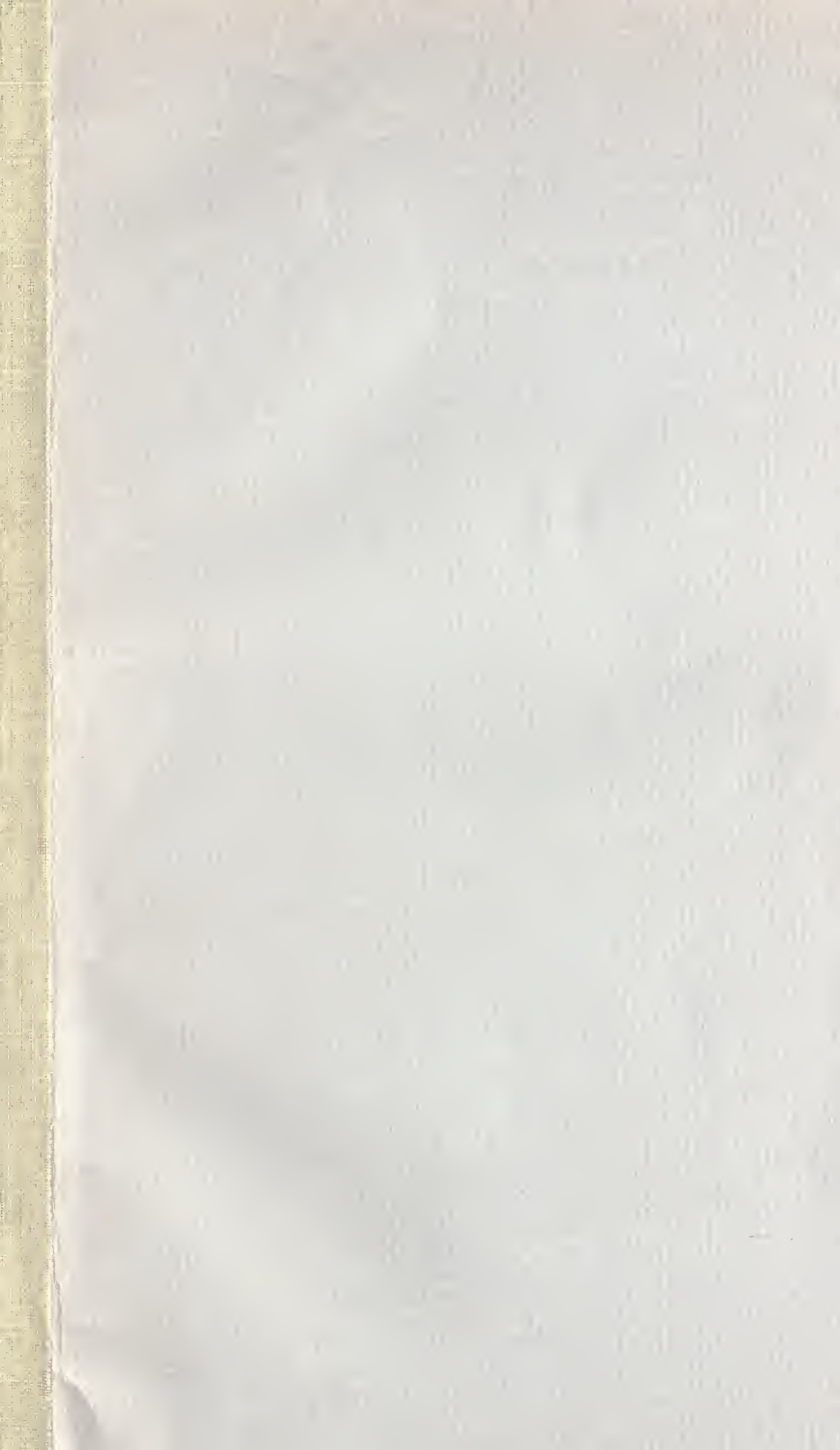
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REMARKS

HON. JAS. A. GARFIELD,  
of Ohio,  
in the House of Representatives

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# REMARKS

OF

## HON. JAS. A. GARFIELD, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

ON THE

Bill to Place the Rebel States under Military Control.

On the 8th of February, 1867, Mr. RAYMOND, of New York, yielded fifteen minutes of his time to Mr. GARFIELD, who spoke as follows:

MR. SPEAKER—In the short time allowed me I can say very little. But I desire to call the attention of the House to two or three points which, in my judgment, stand out prominently, and which should control our action upon this measure.

And first, I call attention to the fact that from the collapse of the rebellion to the present hour the Congress of the United States has undertaken to restore the States lately in rebellion by co-operation with their people, and that our efforts in that direction have proved a complete and disastrous failure. We commenced, sir, by waiving nine tenths of all the powers we had over these people and adopting a policy most merciful and magnanimous. It was clearly the right of the victorious Government to indict, try, convict, and hang every rebel traitor in the South for his bloody conspiracy against the Republic.

In accordance with a law passed by the first Congress that met under the Constitution, and approved by Washington, we might have punished with death, by hanging, every rebel of the South. We might have confiscated the last dollar of the last rebel to aid in paying the cost of the war. Or adopting a more merciful policy, we might have declared that no man, who voluntarily went into the rebellion, should ever again enjoy the rights of a citizen of the United States. They forfeited every right of citizenship by becoming traitors and public enemies. What the conquering sovereign would do with, them was for Congress to declare.

Now, with all these powers in its hands, Congress resolved to do nothing for vengeance, but everything for liberty and safety. The representatives of the nation said to the people of the South, join with us in giving liberty

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and justice to that race which you have so long outraged; make it safe for free loyal men to live among you; bow to the authority of our common country, and we will forgive the carnage, the desolation, the losses, and the unutterable woes you have brought upon the nation, and you shall come back to your places in the Union with no other personal disability than this: that your leaders shall not again rule us except by the consent of two thirds of both Houses of Congress. That was the proposition which this Congress submitted during its last session; and I am here to affirm to-day that so magnanimous, so merciful a proposition has never been submitted by a sovereignty to rebels since the day when God offered forgiveness to the fallen sons of men.

The constitutional amendment did not come up to the full height of the great occasion; it did not meet all that I desired in the way of guarantees to liberty; but if the rebel States had adopted it as Tennessee did, I should have felt bound to let them in on the same terms prescribed for Tennessee. I have also been in favor of waiting, to give them full time to deliberate and act. They have deliberated; they have acted. The last one of the sinful ten has at last, with contempt and scorn, flung back into our teeth the magnanimous offer of a generous nation. It is now our turn to act. They would not co-operate with us in rebuilding what they destroyed. We must remove the rubbish and rebuild from the bottom.

Whether they are willing or not, we must compel obedience to the Union, and demand protection for its humblest citizen wherever the flag floats. We must so exert the power of the nation that it shall be deemed both safe and honorable to have been loyal in the midst of treason. We must see to it that the frightful carnival of blood now raging in the South shall continue no longer.

We must make it possible for the humblest citizen of the United States—from whatever State he may come—to travel in safety from the Ohio river to the Gulf. In short, we must plant liberty on the ruins of slavery and establish law and peace where anarchy and violence now reign. I believe, sir, the time has come when we must lay the heavy hand of military authority upon these rebel communities, and hold them in its grasp till their madness is past, and until “clothed and in their right minds” they come bowing to the authority of the Union, and taking their places loyally in the family circle of the States.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I am aware that this is a severe and stringent measure. I do not hesitate to say that I give my assent to its main features with many misgivings. I am not unmindful of the grave suggestions of the gentleman from New York [Mr. RAYMOND] in reference to the history of such legislation in other countries and other ages. I remember, too, that upon the walls of Imperial Rome a Prætorian guard announced that the world was for sale, and that the legions knocked down the Imperial purple to the highest bidder. I beg to remind the gentleman that this is not a proposition to commit the liberties of the Republic into the hands of the military. It is a new article of war, commanding the army to return to its work of putting down the rebellion—by maintaining the honor and keeping the peace of the nation. If the officers of our army should need such a suggestion, let them remember that no people on earth have shown themselves so able to pull down their idols as the American people. However much honored and beloved a man may be, if the day ever comes when he shows himself untrue to liberty, they will pluck him out of their very hearts and trample him indignantly under their feet. We have seen this in the military history of the last five years, and in the political history of the last campaign.



Now, we propose for a short time to assign our army to this duty for specific and beneficent purposes, namely, to keep the peace until we can exercise the high functions enjoined upon us in the Constitution, of giving to these States republican governments based upon the will of the whole loyal people. The generals of our army enjoy in a wonderful degree the confidence of the nation, but if, for any cause, the most honored among them should lay his hands unlawfully upon the liberty of the humblest citizen, he would be trampled under the feet of millions of indignant freemen. We are not, as some gentlemen seem to suppose, stretching out helpless hands to the army for aid; we are commanding them, as public servants, to do this work in the interest of liberty.

I have spoken only of the general purpose of this bill. I now desire to say that I am not satisfied with the manner in which it is proposed to pass it through this House. I demand that it be opened for amendment as well as discussion. I will not consent that any one man or committee in this House shall frame a bill of this importance and compel me to vote for or against it without an opportunity to suggest amendments to its provisions. However unimportant my own opinions may be, other men shall not do my thinking for me. There are some words which I want stricken out of this bill, and some limitations I want added. I at least shall ask that they be considered. I trust the gentleman who has the bill in charge will allow a full opportunity for amendment, and that the bill, properly guarded, may become a law.

In speaking on the same bill, the next day, Hon. Aaron Harding, of Kentucky, said:

"For example, let me allude to a remark that was made by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GARFIELD] in support of this horrid "military bill" at the time when he assumed to "close the door of mercy" and proclaim that the day of grace was passed. I was astonished and alarmed to hear him utter his solemn fiat, his terrible anathema, his withering curse which is to doom forever some eight or ten million people of the South, the inquiry would naturally suggest itself: "Who is this that stands here and lifts up his voice like a trumpet, closing up the day of grace and sealing the doom of eight or ten million human beings?" One would suppose it to be some being that had suddenly made his appearance in the American Congress from some higher and holier sphere, from some sinless clime, one that had never felt the need of mercy, one that knew nothing but stern justice unmixed with mercy, one that having never sinned himself had no sympathy with sinners; one wrapped in immaculate purity and holiness, standing here and proclaiming with trumpet voice to the people of the United States that the day of grace was ended, "the door of mercy closed forever, locked, and the key thrown away." We were naturally shocked and alarmed; but on drawing a little nearer and making closer observation we find that this being is one of us, one of Adam's fallen posterity, one who had been a rebel against the government of Heaven and a sinner all his days.

The alarm was gone, the fright was over, and our shattered nerves became steady again; but we were still amazed and wondered to see a poor, puny mortal—

"Drest in a little brief authority:"

\* \* \* \* \*  
 "Play such fantastic tricks before high heaven,  
 As make the angels weep."

On Tuesday evening, February 12th, Mr. GARFIELD spoke as follows:

I would not ask the further attention of the House upon this subject were it not that I find myself very seriously misrepresented here and elsewhere, in reference to my remarks on Friday last.

I would not have the worst rebel in the world suppose me capable of anything

like malignity towards even him. I therefore take this occasion to contradict the representation made by the gentleman from Kentucky, [Mr. HARDING,] as I am informed, (for I did not hear him myself,) that I had declared that though I had hitherto been in favor of magnanimity toward the people of the South, I was now in favor of enforcing a blood-thirsty policy against them. I have never uttered such a sentiment. All that I did say was said directly and explicitly upon the single question of the constitutional amendment as a basis of restoration.

I did say the other day, and I say now, that if the amendment proposed at the last session of Congress had been ratified by all the States lately in rebellion, in the same way that Tennessee ratified it, and if those States had done all the other things that Tennessee did, I should have felt myself morally bound, (though it fell very far short of full justice and of my own views of good statesmanship,) and I believe the Thirty-Ninth Congress would have been morally bound to admit every one of the rebel States on the same terms.

Many members know that I have been opposed to taking further decisive action until every rebel State had had full opportunity to act upon the amendment. Now that they have all rejected it, and considering their action as final, I say, as I said on Friday last, that that offer as a basis of reconstruction is forever closed so far as my vote is concerned. The time has come when we must protect the loyal men of the South; the time has come when fruitless magnanimity to rebels, is cruelty to our friends. No other victorious nation has ever so neglected its supporters. For a quarter of a century the British Government gave special protection to the Tories of the American Revolution, paying them \$15,000,000 out of the royal treasury. What loyal man of any State, except Tennessee, has been honored or defended by the Federal Government? It is a notorious fact that it is both honorable and safe in the South to have been a rebel, while it is both dangerous and disgraceful for a Southerner to have been loyal to the Union. Loyal men are every day perishing as unavenged victims of rebel malignity.

I desire to say, also, that I am in favor of placing these States under military jurisdiction only as a temporary measure of protection, until republican governments can be organized based upon the will of all the loyal people, without regard to race or color.

Now, Mr. Speaker, as the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. HARDING] volunteered to read me a lecture on blood-thirstiness and reminded me of the sinfulness of human nature as represented in myself, I will volunteer a few suggestions and reflections to him and the party with which he acts.

I remind the gentleman that his party and the President who leads it have had it in their power any day during the last twenty-two months to close the bleeding wounds of this grievous war, and restore the States lately in rebellion to their proper places in the Union. I tell that gentleman that if, on any one day during the war he and his party had risen up and said honestly and unanimously, "We join the loyal men of the nation to put down the rebellion," the war would not have lasted a twelvemonth. The army never feared the enemy in its front; it was the enemy in our rear, with their ballots and plots against the Union and their sympathy with the rebellion, which continued the war and wasted and desolated the land with blood and fire. That party is responsible for more of the carnage of the war than anybody this side of the rebels.



But, sir, the gentleman and his party have made a record since the war ended.

If the Democratic party, with the President at its head, had, on any day since July last, advised the people of the South to accept the constitutional amendment and come in as Tennessee did, it would have been done. I have information from a source entirely reliable, that but little more than one month ago Alabama was on the eve of accepting the proposed amendment to the Constitution when a telegram from Washington dissuaded her from doing so and led her rashly to reject it.

Of all men on earth the gentleman and his party have the least right to preach the doctrine of mercy to this side of the House. That mercy which smiles only on murder, treason, and rebellion, and has only frowns for loyalty and patriotism, becomes the gentleman and his party. I cannot agree with all that has just been said by my friends on this side, that our own party in Congress have been so very virtuous and true to liberty. I cannot forget that we have learned very slowly; I cannot forget that less than four years ago in this Hall, the proposition to allow negroes any share in putting down the rebellion, was received with alarm, even on this side of this House.

I cannot forget that less than five years ago I received an order from my superior officer in the Army commanding me to search my camp for a fugitive slave and if found to deliver him up to a Kentucky captain, who claimed him as his property; and I had the honor to be perhaps the first officer in the Army who peremptorily refused to obey such an order. We were then trying to save the Union without hurting slavery. I remember, sir, that when we undertook to agitate in the Army the question of putting arms into the hands of the slaves, it was said, "Such a step will be fatal, it will alienate half our Army and lose us Kentucky." By and by, when our necessities were imperious, we ventured to let the negroes dig in the trenches, but it would not do to put muskets into their hands. We ventured to let the negro drive a mule team, but it would not do to have a white man or a mulatto just in front of him or behind him; all must be negroes in that train; you must not disgrace a white soldier by putting him in such company. "By and by" some one said, "rebel guerrillas may capture the mules; so for the sake of the mules let us put a few muskets in the wagons and let the negroes shoot the guerrillas if they come." So for the sake of the mules we enlarged the limits of liberty a little. [Laughter.] By and by we allowed the negroes to build fortifications and armed them to save the earthworks they had made—not to do justice to the negro, but to protect the earth he had thrown up. By and by we said in this Hall that we would arm the negroes, but they must not be called soldiers nor wear the national uniform, for that would degrade white soldiers. By and by we said, "Let them wear the uniform, but they must not receive the pay of soldiers." For six months we did not pay them enough to feed and clothe them; and their shattered regiments came home from South Carolina in debt to the Government for the clothes they wore. It took us two years to reach a point where we were willing to do the most meager justice to the black man, and to recognize the truth that—

"A man's a man for a' that."

It will not do for our friends on this side to boast even of the early virtues of the Thirty-Ninth Congress. I remember very well, Mr. Speaker, during the last

session that forty of us tried to bring the issue of manhood suffrage before Congress. Our friends said, "You are impracticable; you will be beaten at the polls if you go before the people on that issue." "Make haste slowly." Let us not be too proud of what we did at the last session. For my part I am heartily ashamed of our shortcomings and the small measure of justice we meted out to our best friends in the South.

But, sir, the hand of God has been visible in this work, leading us by degrees out of the blindness of our prejudices to see that the fortunes of the Republic and the safety of the party of liberty are inseparably bound up with the rights of the black man. At last our party must see that if it would preserve its political life, or maintain the safety of the Republic, we must do justice to the humblest man in the nation, whether black or white. I thank God that to-day we have struck the rock; we have planted our feet upon solid earth. Streams of light will gleam out from the luminous truth embodied in the legislation of this day. This is the *ne plus ultra* of reconstruction, and I hope we shall have the courage to go before our people everywhere with "This or nothing" for our motto.

Now, sir, as a temporary measure, I give my support to this military bill properly restricted. It is severe. It was written with a steel pen made out of a bayonet; and bayonets have done us good service hitherto. All I ask is, that Congress shall place civil Governments before these people of the rebel States, and a cordon of bayonets behind them.

On Monday, February 18th, the House had under consideration the military occupation bill with the Senate amendments, providing for establishing civil governments in the rebel States, based upon manhood suffrage, upon which Mr. GARFIELD spoke as follows:

Mr. SPEAKER, The House will remember that I did what I could when this bill was first before us to secure an amendment which would open the way for restoring the rebel States to their practical relations to the Union, whenever they should establish republican governments based on manhood suffrage. By the casting votes of democratic members, the Blaine amendment failed here, but by an almost unanimous vote, the Senate have added some well considered sections, which effect the same object and make the bill more perfect than any yet proposed. It is not all I could wish, but as we are now within a few hours of the time when all the legislation of the Thirty-Ninth Congress will be wholly in the power of the President, we are compelled to accept this or run the risk of getting nothing. Now what does this bill propose? It lays the hands of the nation upon the rebel State governments, and takes the breath of life out of them. It puts the bayonet at the breast of every rebel murderer in the South to bring him to justice. It commands the army to protect the life and property of citizens whether black or white. It places in the hands of Congress absolutely and irrevocably the whole work of reconstruction.

With this thunderbolt in our hands shall we stagger like idiots under its weight? Have we grasped a weapon which we have neither the courage nor the wisdom to wield? If I were afraid of this Congress and the next—afraid of my shadow, afraid of myself—I would declaim against this bill as gentlemen around me have done. They have spoken vehemently, solemnly, sepulchraly against it, but they have not done us the favor to quote a line from the bill itself to prove that it has any of the defects they charge. They tell us it proposes universal amnesty to rebels, but I challenge him to find the shadow of that thought in the bill. They

tell us it puts the State government into the hands of rebels. I deny it unless I am a rebel and this is a rebel Congress. They tell us it is a surrender to the President, because it directs him to detail officers to command the rebel districts.

Mr. SPEAKER, I want this Congress to give its commands to the President. If he refuses to obey, the impeachment-hunters need make no further search for cause of action. There may be abundant cause now, but disobedience to this order will place it beyond all question—our duty to impeach him will be plain and imperative.

Mr. Speaker, there are some gentlemen here who live in a world far above my poor comprehension. They dwell with eagles—on mountain peaks—in the region of perpetual frost; and in that ethereal air, with purged vision, they discern the lineaments in the face of freedom so much more clearly than I do, that sometimes when I and other common mortals here have almost within our reach a measure which we think a great gain to liberty, they come down and tell us our measure is low and mean—a compromise with the enemy and a surrender of liberty. I remember an example of this at the close of the last session. Many of us had tried in vain to put manhood suffrage into the constitutional amendment, but all knew that the safety of the nation and the life of the Union party were bound up in the passage of the constitutional amendment in the shape it finally assumed. But at the last moment, when it was known that the Union party in this body had determined to pass it, the previous question was lifted to allow these exalted thinkers to denounce it as an unworthy, unstatesmanlike surrender. But the House passed it, the Senate concurred, and the people approved it by the most overwhelming majority known in our political history.

The pending measure, Mr. Speaker, goes far beyond the constitutional amendment, and in addition to other beneficent provisions it recognizes and secures forever the full political rights of all loyal men in the rebel States without distinction of race or color. If any gentleman can show me a greater gain to liberty in the last half century he will open a chapter of history which it has not been my privilege to read. But these sublime political philosophers regard it wholly unworthy their high sanction.

Mr. Speaker, some of us are so irreverent as to begin to suspect that the real reason for opposing this bill is to be found in another direction. The distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. STEVENS] made a remark this morning which may explain his opposition. He complained that the Senate had forced upon us the question of reconstruction, which our bill did not touch. His course on this measure leads me to suspect that he does not desire to touch the question of reconstruction. For my part, I desire that these rebel States shall be restored at the earliest moment that safety and liberty will allow. The American people desire reconstruction. At the beginning of the war the fiat of the nation went forth that the Union should not be destroyed—that the rebel States should be brought back to their places. To this end they fought and suffered—to this end they have voted and we have legislated. They demand that we delay reconstruction until it can be done in the interest of liberty. Beyond that they will tolerate no delay. Such a reconstruction is provided for in this bill. I therefore give it my cordial support.



The first part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the Board of Education to the Board of Trustees of the University of the State of New York. The letter is dated October 10, 1890, and is addressed to the Board of Trustees. The letter discusses the progress of the Board of Education and the various reports that have been submitted to it. It also discusses the various proposals that have been made for the improvement of the public schools. The letter is signed by the Secretary of the Board of Education, and is accompanied by several reports and proposals. The second part of the document is a report from the Board of Education to the Board of Trustees. The report is dated October 10, 1890, and is addressed to the Board of Trustees. The report discusses the progress of the Board of Education and the various reports that have been submitted to it. It also discusses the various proposals that have been made for the improvement of the public schools. The report is signed by the Board of Education, and is accompanied by several reports and proposals. The third part of the document is a report from the Board of Education to the Board of Trustees. The report is dated October 10, 1890, and is addressed to the Board of Trustees. The report discusses the progress of the Board of Education and the various reports that have been submitted to it. It also discusses the various proposals that have been made for the improvement of the public schools. The report is signed by the Board of Education, and is accompanied by several reports and proposals.

## TESTED AND SUSTAINED.

## REMARKS

OF

## HON. JAMES A. GARFIELD

TO HIS CONSTITUENTS,

AT

WARREN, OHIO, SEPTEMBER 19, 1874,

IN REPLY TO

## ATTACKS UPON HIS OFFICIAL CHARACTER.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I have thought for a number of years that we should soon reach a point where our political discussions would not relate mainly to the past; where in the language of some politicians of the day we should "let bygones be bygones," and the politics of our time would look mainly to the future; but the presence of great events, such as have transpired within the past few days in one of our States, leads me to fear we must again discuss some of the questions connected with the war. To-night I should prefer to discuss that and other questions of public policy. Thus far in my public speeches there has been but little personal discussion. I have tried to make my public life as impersonal as possible; but the course taken by some citizens of this district justifies me, I think, in departing from the ordinary rule, and I shall discuss to-night mainly questions of a somewhat personal character. In the first place I recognize it as a peculiarly important element in our American politics that the full blaze of public discussion, investigation and inquiry concerning all men who serve the public is a safeguard to our institutions. I do not complain if sometimes the fierce light of the public press burns rather than enlightens. That perhaps is one of the necessary incidents to a full discussion of individuals and communities. I indorse and rejoice in the principle of the utmost individual liberty of judgment about all men, whatsoever their station and career. That right of private judgment is absolute in every American citizen. I find no fault with any man for exercising it upon me in the fullest possible manner. I only demand that it shall be exercised upon me in justice and for the sake of truth. Whenever it is exercised for any other purpose and in any other spirit, perhaps it is all the worse for the man who so exercises it; but I have in that case a right to respond. I have come here to-night to reply to a

## CLASS OF CRITICISMS

that have been made upon me during the last two years. When I have fully stated what I have to say on any one of these points I invite any man, friend or enemy, to put any question he chooses concerning that point. I am of course addressing myself to all who are in the audience; but there is one class of men

whom I do not care to address—I mean those who are glad to find me wrong—and who would be unwilling and grieved to know that I am not wrong. That class of men I do not address with any hope of changing any sentiment they may hold concerning me. But there is a class into whose hearts and minds, for the last eighteen months at least, a series of repeated accusations against me have been poured, until they have come to think that there must be some truth in the charges. I have great sympathy for that class of men. They have been made to doubt where they formerly trusted, and hearing but one side, came to believe there was no other. To that class I address myself with the utmost desire to have them know what I am and what my public life has been, and to give them whatever information I may possess on any point touching that career.

As I came up stairs to-night a note was put into my hand which has led me to make as the first point what I did not intend to notice until at a later stage of my remarks. In the year 1864 I argued a case in the Supreme Court of the United States, and the fact that I did so gave offense to a great many good Republicans of the Nineteenth district. I refer to the case of the Indiana conspirators.

#### BOWLES AND MILLIGAN,

in 1864, were arrested on the charge of conspiring to prevent the enlistment of troops into our army, and with giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the Union by forming a secret organization to resist the Government. Those men were arrested at their homes in Indiana, tried by a military court and sentenced to death, but President Lincoln commuted their sentence to imprisonment for life. A writ of habeas corpus was issued, and an appeal was made to the district court of the United States in Indiana, to determine whether the military tribunal had a right to try them. The court was divided in opinion and the case came up to the Supreme Court of the United States in 1866.

Just about that time there had been in Congress a very considerable discussion concerning the arbitrary conduct of some of our officers in carrying into civil communities the military jurisdiction and rule further than they were warranted by the Constitution, and I had taken strong grounds in Congress against the exercise of military power in States not in rebellion, it being generally known that I had resisted what some of the more extreme of our own party thought the military authorities might safely do. I was asked if I would be willing to argue the case of Bowles and Milligan before the Supreme Court. I answered that if the case turns on the justice of those men being punished I will not defend them in any way whatever, for I believed they deserved the severest punishment; but that if the case turned on the question as to who has the power to try those men I believed that there is no authority under the Constitution and laws of the United States to take a citizen of Indiana not a soldier and import a military tribunal to his home to try him and punish him. So important did I regard this principle in that exciting time to the future of this country, that with my eyes open to the fact that I took a very great political risk defending, not Bowles and Milligan, but the right of every citizen in a civil community where war is not raging to be tried by the courts of the country and before juries of his own land, and not to be dragged away outside of his own doors to be tried by a military organization brought from a distance, I made the argument now complained of. I believed that, having put down the rebellion, having saved civil liberty in this country against cruel invasion, we ought also to save it from our own recklessness.

I happen to have with me a copy of the argument that I made before the Supreme Court in the year 1866; and I desire to say that I felt when I made that argument that I was doing as worthy a thing as I had ever done in my life, and I look back upon it to-night with as much sincere pride and satisfaction as upon any act of my political life. [Applause.] I ought to add that I have never even seen Bowles or Milligan. I knew that they were poor and probably could not pay for their defense. I was never promised and never received any compensation for it. I paid the expense of printing my own brief and my argument. I never received any compensation for it; I did it in defense of what I believed to be a most vital and important principle not only to the Republican party but to the nation; namely, that in no part of our civil community must the military be exalted above the civil authority, [applause:] but that those men, however unworthy, however guilty, and however disloyal to their country,



should not be tried by any but a lawful, civil tribunal. Congress had provided laws for trying every crime that those men were charged with, and for trying it by a civil court. Now, I believe that all over this land one of the great landmarks of civilization and civil liberty is the self-restraining power of the American people, curbing themselves and governing themselves by the limit of the civil law. I remind you of the fact that the Supreme Court unanimously sustained the position I took in that argument. There were some differences as to the reasoning by which the court reached the result, but the ruling of the court was unanimous that the trial had been unauthorized by law, and that the men must therefore be released. That did not release them, however, from the right of the Government to try them in the civil courts for the crimes with which they were charged. The note that I referred to as being handed to me was that I should explain how it was that I, a Republican and a Representative, gave my voice and whatever ability I possessed as a lawyer, to save rebel conspirators from punishment. My answer was, "Hang them! but hang them according to law, [applause :] if you hang them otherwise you commit murder." Now, if any one has any question to ask on this subject I shall be glad to hear it.

[The speaker here paused, but there came from the audience no response to the request.]

There are three other things which I propose to discuss; two of them may hardly be said to refer to my public career, one of them directly to my official work. The first one I shall refer to is my alleged connection with

#### THE CREDIT MOBILIER.

There is a large number of people in the United States who use these words without any adequate idea of what they mean. I have no doubt that a great many people feel about it very much as the fish-woman at Billingsgate market felt when Sidney Smith, the great humorist of England, came along and began to talk with her. She answered back in a very saucy way, and he finally commenced to call her mathematical names; he called her a parallelogram, a hypotenuse, a parallelopedon, and other such terms, and she stood back aghast and said she never heard such a nasty talking man in her life—never was abused so before. Now people think they have said an enormous thing when they say that somebody had something to do with the Credit Mobilier. I ask your attention just for a few moments to what that thing is, and in the next place to understand precisely what it is that I am supposed to have had to do with it.

The Credit Mobilier was a corporation chartered in 1859 by the State of Pennsylvania, and authorized to build houses, buy lands, loan money, &c. Nothing of consequence was done with that company until the year 1867, when a number of men bought up whatever stock there was in it and commenced to do a very large business. In the winter of 1867 Mr. Train came to me and showed me a list of names and subscribers to the stock of the Credit Mobilier Company and asked me to subscribe \$1,000. I should say there were fifteen or twenty members of Congress on the list, and many more prominent business men. He said that the company was going to buy lands along the line of the Pacific Railroad at places where they thought cities and villages would grow up and to develop them, and he had no doubt that the growth of the country would make that investment double itself in a very short time.

That was the alleged scheme that the Credit Mobilier Company had undertaken—a thing that if there is any gentleman in Warren who would feel any hesitancy in buying, it would be because he didn't believe in the growth of the country where the business was to be done. That stock was offered to me as a plain business proposition, with no intimation whatever that it was offered because the subscribers were members of Congress, for it was offered to many other people, and no better men lived than at least a large number of the gentlemen to whom it was offered. Some of them took it at once. Some men are cautious about making an investment; others are quick to determine. To none of those men was any explanation made that this Credit Mobilier Company was in any way connected with a ring of seven men who owned the principal portion of the stock and who had contracted with the directors of the Union Pacific road for building six or seven hundred miles at an extravagant price, largely above what the work was worth. That was a secret held only by those seven men who owned the principal portion of the stock. It is now understood that Mr. Oakes Ames, who was the center of the company of seven men, sought to gain the friendship of fifteen or twenty prominent Congressmen with

the view of protecting himself and the Pacific Railroad against any investigation which might be made; but it was a necessary part of his plan not to divulge that purpose or in any way to intimate to them that he might draw upon them for favors.

Long before any such purpose was realized, long before any pressure came upon Mr. Ames, most of the men who had been invited to purchase that stock had either declined to purchase or had purchased and realized, or had purchased and sold out. But in 1872, in the midst of the Presidential campaign, an article was published in the public journals charging that sixteen prominent members of Congress—Senators and Representatives—had sold their votes for money or stock; that they had accepted bribes. You remember that I was running for Congress in this district at that time. When that news came I was away in the Rocky Mountains. I came home and the first day after my arrival at Washington I authorized to be published a statement concerning what I knew about the Oakes Ames business. A great many people suppose now and say, and it has been repeated a hundred times in this district, and especially in this town during the last two weeks, that Mr. Garfield hedged and denied any knowledge of the Credit Mobilier business, until finally the investigation brought it out. I repeat that immediately on my arrival in Washington I made a statement to the correspondent of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, of which the following is a copy:

“WASHINGTON, September 15, 1872.

“General Garfield, who has just arrived here from the Indian country, has to-day had the first opportunity of seeing the charges connecting his name with receiving shares of the Credit Mobilier from Oakes Ames. He authorizes the statement that he never subscribed for a single share of the stock, and that he never received or saw a share of it. When the company was first formed, George Francis Train, then active in it, came to Washington and exhibited a list of subscribers, of leading capitalists and some members of Congress, to the stock of the company. The subscription was described as a popular one of \$1,000 cash. Train urged General Garfield to subscribe on two occasions, and each time he declined. Subsequently he was again informed that the list was nearly completed, but that a chance remained for him to subscribe, when he again declined, and to this day he has not subscribed for or received any share of stock or bond of the company.”

Now I want my audience to understand that in the midst of that storm and tempest of accusation, and only a little while before the election, I started it and let it go broadcast to the daily press, that I did know something about the Credit Mobilier; that I had on two occasions discussed the matter; that I had taken it into consideration, and that finally I had declined to subscribe; that I never had owned or held a share; had never seen a certificate of the stock. Now, I am not asking you at this moment to discuss the truth of that statement, but only to say that I stated it long before there was any investigation talked of; that I never dodged or evaded or denied having any knowledge on the subject, but at the first declared plainly and finally what I did know about it.

When Congress met, Speaker Blaine and the rest of us whose names were concerned in it, at once, on the first morning of the session, demanded a committee of investigation to go through with the whole subject from beginning to end. I want those gentlemen who talk about Mr. Garfield being got after by committees of investigation to know that no investigation into any public affair has been held in the last three years in Washington that I have not helped to organize and bring about. [Applause.]

#### THE COMMITTEE OF INVESTIGATION.

Now what was the investigation? You will remember that before the investigation had gone far a feeling of alarm and excitement swept over the whole country that has hardly been paralleled in American history. Some men whose names were connected with the charges of the Credit Mobilier matter, shocked at the terrible charge of bribery thrown at them, in the hurry of the moment so far forgot themselves as to give equivocal answers as to whether they knew anything about the matter or not, and the impression was made throughout the country that most of them had denied that they knew anything about it. The fact was that the country was settling down to the belief that the whole thing was a mere campaign slander and had no foundation in fact. Looking at the subject from this distance, I am inclined to believe that the impression left



upon the American mind is that the faults of those who were charged with buying stock was not that they did anything wrong in reference to the stock, but that afterwards they prevaricated, or lied about it. Now, without discussing anybody else, I call you to witness that I stated at once what I knew about it the first time that I knew the thing was going the rounds of the newspapers. When the committee of investigation came to make up

#### THEIR REPORT

there was one thing in that report to which I personally took exception, and only one. I understand that a gentleman occupied this room a few nights ago who undertook to make the impression upon his audience that Mr. Garfield was found guilty of some improper relation with the Credit Mobilier. Let me read you a sentence or two from that report. The committee say :

“Concerning the members to whom he had sold or offered to sell the stock, the committee say that they ‘do not find that Mr. Ames, in his negotiations with the persons above named, entered into any detail of the relations between the Credit Mobilier Company and the Union Pacific Company, or gave them any specific information as to the amount of dividends they would be likely to receive further than has been already stated, viz., that in some cases he had guaranteed a profit of ten per cent. \* \* \* They do not find as to the members of the present House above named that they were aware of the object of Mr. Ames, or that they had any other purpose in taking this stock than to make a profitable investment. \* \* \* They have not been able to find that any of these members of Congress have been affected in their official action in consequence of interest in the Credit Mobilier stock. \* \* \* They do not find that either of the above-named gentlemen in contracting with Mr. Ames had any corrupt motive or purpose himself, or was aware Mr. Ames had any. Nor did either of them suppose he was guilty of any impropriety or even indelicacy in becoming a purchaser of this stock.’ And finally, ‘that the committee find nothing in the conduct or motives of either of these members in taking this stock, that calls for any recommendation by the committee of the House.” (See pp. viii, ix, x.)

In Mr. Ames’s first testimony he names sixteen members of Congress to whom he offered the stock, and says that eleven of them bought it, but he sets Mr. Garfield down among the five who did not buy it. He says: “He (Garfield) did not pay for it or receive it. \* \* He never paid any money on that stock nor received money on account of it.” Let me add that the last grant to the Union Pacific Railroad was by the act of July, 1864, and that Oakes Ames had nothing to do with the Credit Mobilier till more than two years after that date.

The point to which I took exception to the report of the committee was this: The report held that Mr. Ames and Mr. Garfield did agree upon the purchase of the stock, and that Mr. Garfield received \$329 on account of it. I insisted that the evidence did not warrant that conclusion, and rose in my place in the House, and announced that I should make that statement good before the American public; that I hold myself responsible to demonstrate that the committee was wrong; that although they charged me with no wrong, they still had made a mistake of fact, which was against the evidence and an injustice to me. Soon after I published a pamphlet of twenty-eight pages, in which I carefully and thoroughly reviewed all the testimony relating to me. I have now stood before the American people since the 8th day of May, 1873, announcing that the following propositions were proven concerning myself: That I never agreed even to take the stock of Mr. Ames; that I never subscribed for it, never did take it, never received any dividends from it, and was never in any way made a beneficiary by it. Seven thousand copies of that pamphlet have been distributed through the United States. Almost every newspaper in the United States has had a copy mailed to it. Every member of the Forty-second Congress—Democrat and Republican—had a copy, and there is not known to me a man who having read my review has denied its conclusiveness of those propositions after having read them. I have seen no newspaper review of it that denies the conclusiveness of the propositions. It is for these reasons that a great public journal, the *New York Evening Post*, said a few days ago that on this point General Garfield’s answer had been received by the American people as satisfactory. [Applause.] If there is any gentleman in this audience who desires to ask any question concerning the Credit Mobilier, I shall be glad to hear it. [No response.] If not, would not it be about as well to modify the talk on that subject hereafter? [Applause.]



Now the next thing I shall mention is a question purely of official conduct—and that is a subject which has grown threadbare in this community, and yet I desire your attention to it for a few moments. I refer to

#### THE INCREASE OF OFFICIAL SALARIES,

one year and a half ago. First, what are the accusations concerning me?

There are several citizens in this town who have signed their names to statements in the newspapers during that discussion declaring that Mr. Garfield had committed a theft, a robbery; that, to use the plain Saxon word, he was a thief, that any man who took or voted for a retroactive increase of salary was a thief. In one of these articles it was argued in this wise: "If I hire a clerk in my bank on a certain salary and he, having the key to my safe, takes out five hundred or five thousand dollars more than we agreed for and puts it in his pocket, it is simply theft or robbery. He happened to have access to the funds and he got hold of them; so did Congress. You can't gloss it over," says the writer, "it is robbery."

Now, fellow-citizens, I presume you will agree that you can wrong even the devil himself, and that it is not right or manly to lie, even about Satan. I take it for granted that we are far enough past the passion of that period to talk plainly and coolly about the increase of salaries.

Now, in the first place, I say to-night what I have said through all this tempest, that for a Congress to increase its own pay and make it retroactive, is not theft, is not robbery, and you do injustice to the truth when you call it so. There is ground enough in which to denounce it without straining the truth. Now if Congress cannot fix its own salary, who can? The Constitution of your country says, in unmistakable words, that "Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation to be ascertained by law and paid out of the national Treasury." Nobody makes the law but Congress. It was a very delicate business in the beginning for our fathers to make a law paying themselves money. They understood it so, and when they sent the Constitution out to the several States the question was raised whether it would not be better to put a curb upon Congress in reference to their own pay, and in several of the States suggestions were sent in. When the First Congress met James Madison offered seventeen amendments to the Constitution, and finally Congress voted to send twelve of the proposed amendments to the country; one of them was this: "No law varying the compensation of the Senators or Representatives in Congress shall take effect until an election has intervened." In other words the First Congress proposed that an amendment should be made to the new Constitution that no Congress could raise its own pay and make it retroactive. That was sent to the States for their ratification. The States adopted ten of those amendments. Two they rejected; and this was one of the two. They said it should not be in the Constitution. The reason given for its rejection, by one of the wisest men of that time, was this: He said: "If we adopt it, this may happen; one party will go into power in a new Congress, but, just before the old Congress expires, the defeated party may pass a law reducing the pay of Congress to ten cents a day."

It will never do thus to put one Congress into the power of another; it would be an engine of wrong and injustice. For this reason our fathers refused to put into the Constitution a clause that would prevent back pay. Now it will not do to say that a provision that has been deliberately rejected from the Constitution is virtually there, and it will not do to say that it is just to call it theft and robbery for Congress to do what it has plainly the constitutional right to do. I use the word right in its legal sense.

Now take another step. I hold in my hand here a record of all the changes of pay that have been made since this Government was founded, and in every case—I am not arguing now that it is right at all, I am only giving you a history of it—in every single instance when Congress has raised its pay it has raised it to take effect from the first day of the session of the Congress. Six times Congress has increased its own pay, and every time it made the pay retroactive. I say again, I am not arguing that this was right and proper; I am only arguing that it was lawful and constitutional to do it. In 1856 the pay was raised, and was made retroactive, for a year and four months, and the member of Congress from this district threw the casting vote that made it a law. That act raised the pay by a larger per cent. than the act of last Congress. Joshua R. Giddings was the one hundredth man that voted aye. Ninety-nine voted no.

Joshua R. Giddings' vote the other way would have turned the score against it. That vote gave back pay for a year and four months. That vote gave Congress nine months' back pay for a time when members would not have been entitled to anything whatever, because under the old law they were paid only during the session. What did this district do? Did it call him a thief and a robber? A few weeks after that vote this district elected him to Congress for the tenth time. Have the ethics of the world changed since 1856? Would I be a thief and robber in 1873, if I had done what my predecessor did in 1856? In 1866 the pay was raised; that time it was put in the appropriation bill, (a very important appropriation bill,) a bill giving bounties to soldiers. It passed through the Senate and came to the House; there was a disagreement about it. Senator Sherman, of Ohio, had charge of the bill in the Senate, and voted against the increase of pay every time when it came up on its own merits, but he was outvoted. Finally it went to a committee of conference, and he was made chairman of the committee of conference. The conference report between the two houses was made in favor of the bill. Mr. Sherman brought in the report, saying when he brought it in that he had been opposed to the increase of pay, but the Senate had overruled him. He voted for the conference report, voted for the final passage of the bill. That bill gave back pay for a year and five months. Was John Sherman denounced as a thief and robber for that? Was Benjamin F. Wade called a thief and robber?

At that time I was not chairman of the committee, and had no other responsibility than that of an individual representative. I voted against the increase of salary then; at all stages I voted against the conference report, but it passed through the House on final vote by just one majority. I don't remember that anybody ever praised me, particularly, for voting against that report, and I never heard anybody blaming John Sherman for voting for it.

Now, in 1873, the conditions were exactly the reverse. I was chairman of the committee that had charge of the great appropriation bill. There was put upon that bill against my earnest protest a proposition to increase salaries. I take it there is no one here who will deny that I worked as earnestly as I could to prevent the putting of that increase upon the bill. I did not work against it because it was a theft or robbery to put it on there; I worked against it because I thought it was indecent, unbecoming, and in the highest degree unwise and injudicious to increase the salaries at that time. First, because they had been increased in 1856, and in proportion to other salaries, Congressmen were paid enough—paid more in proportion than most other officials were paid. Second, the glory of the Congress had been that it was bringing down the expenditures of the Government from the highest level of war to the lowest level of peace; and that if we raised our own salaries, unless the rise had been made before, it would be the keynote on which the whole tune of extravagance would be sung. I believed, too, that it would seriously injure the Republican party, and on that score I thought we ought to resist it. I did all in my power to prevent that provision being added to the bill. I voted against it eighteen times. I spoke against it, but by a very large vote in the House, and a still larger vote in the Senate, the salary clause was put upon the bill. I was captain of the ship, and this objectionable freight had been put upon my deck. I had tried to keep it off. What should I do? Burn the ship? Sink her? Or, having washed my hands of the responsibility for that part of her cargo I had tried to keep off, navigate her into port, and let those who had put this freight on be responsible for it? Using that figure, that was the course I thought it my duty to adopt. Now on that matter I might have made an error of judgment. I believed then and now that if it had been in my power to kill this bill, and had thus brought on an extra session, I believe to-day, I say, had I been able to do that, I should have been the worst blamed man in the United States. Why? During the long months of the extra session that would have followed, with the evils which the country would have felt by having its business disturbed by Congress, and the uncertainties of the result, men would have said all this has come about because we did not have a man at the head of the Committee on Appropriations with nerve enough and force enough to carry his bill through by the end of the session. The next time we have a Congress we had better see if we cannot get a man who will get his bills through. Suppose I had answered there was that salary increase—"That won't do. You had shown your hand on the salary question; you had protested against it and you had done your duty." Then they would have said, there were six or seven sec-



tions in that bill empowering the United States to bring the railroads before the courts, and make them account for their extravagance. They would have said we have lost all that by the loss of this bill, and I would have been charged with acting in the interest of railroad corporations and fighting to kill the bill for that reason. But be that as it may, fellow citizens, I considered the two alternatives as well as I could. I believed it would rouse a storm of indignation and ill feeling throughout the country if that increase of salary passed. I believed it would result in greater evils if the whole failed, and an extra session came on. For a little while I was tempted to do what would rather be pleasing than what would be best in the long run. I believe it required more courage to vote as I voted, than it would to have voted the other way, but I resolved to do what seemed to me right in the case, let the consequences be what they would. [Applause.] I may have made a mistake in judgment; I blame no one for thinking so, but I did what I thought was the less bad of two courses. My subsequent conduct was consistent with my action on the bill.

I did not myself parade the fact, but more than a year ago the *New York World* published a list, stating in chronological order the Senators and Representatives who covered their back pay into the Treasury. My name was first on the list. [Applause.]

I appeal to the sense of justice of this people whether they will tolerate this sort of political warfare. It has been proven again and again that I never drew the back pay, never saw a dollar of it, and took no action in reference to it except to sign an order on the Sergeant-at-Arms to cover it into the general Treasury, and this was done before the convention at Warren. I say more. Some of these men who have been so long pursuing me have known these facts for many months. During the stormy times of the salary excitement a citizen of this country wrote a letter to a prominent official in the Treasury of the United States wanting to know whether Mr. Garfield drew his pay or not, and received a very full and circumstantial reply stating the facts. That letter is in this town I suppose, to-day, but those who have had possession of it have been careful never to show it. I have a copy of it here, and if these men continue lying about it, I will print it one of these days. [Sensation and great applause. Cries of "Let us have that letter read now, General Garfield."] I will not give the name of the party. The name I have not to whom it is addressed.

[The audience here absolutely insisted on having the letter read, some demanding the name and all positively refusing to allow the speaker to proceed without reading the letter in justice to himself and for the information of the audience.]

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
"WASHINGTON, June 9, 1873.

"DEAR SIR: Your letter written early in May was forwarded to me at Youngstown, where it could not be answered for want of accurate data. When about to return to Washington I searched for that letter but could not find it. My recollection of its contents is that you inquired as to the repayment into the Treasury by General Garfield of the additional compensation due him as a member of the Forty-second Congress, under the provisions of the general appropriation act of March 3, 1873.

"The additional compensation due General Garfield was drawn by Mr. Ordway, Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives, and by him paid into the Treasury as a miscellaneous revenue receipt. The money was drawn by Mr. Ordway on the order of General Garfield. The practice of the Sergeant-at-Arms is to take receipts from members in blank in anticipation of the dates at which they are to become due, and to pay their check on him by drawing the money from the Treasury on those receipts. In this way he is in a measure the banker of the members. General Garfield had signed such receipts month after month at the beginning of the month, one of which was filled up by Mr. Ordway and presented to the Treasury. At that time I believe General Garfield was out of the city, but I happened to know that as soon as the 22d day of March this written order was delivered to Mr. Ordway if he had not drawn any money from the Treasury on his account to close the account without drawing it, and if he had drawn it to return it. Mr. Ordway then informed him that it was necessary for him to sign a special order on the Treasury if he wished it drawn out and covered in, otherwise Mr. Garfield could draw it any time within two years; whereupon Mr. Garfield drew an order for \$4,548, payable to the or-



der of Mr. Ordway, to be by him covered into the Treasury. This was presented to the Treasurer and the money turned over from the appropriation account to the general account, so that no portion of it ever left the Treasury at all. It was simply a transfer from the appropriation account to the general funds of the Treasury. Very respectfully,

“ROBERT W. TAYLER.”

[Applause.]

Question. What was the date of the adjournment of Congress?

General Garfield. Congress adjourned on the 3d of March.

Question. What was the date of your letter?

General Garfield. The 22d day of March was the date of my letter.

A voice. Give us some of the DeGollyer matter.

General Garfield. We will take each particular thing at the proper time and place. A note is handed me which I will speak of in this connection. It is that “during the debate Mr. Garfield answered a question of Mr. Hibbard of New Hampshire, who said, ‘how about this plunder? How much plunder will it take out of the Treasury?’ And that Mr. Garfield’s answer seemed to imply that he did not regard it as plunder.” I believe there has been as much said on that particular reply of mine in connection with this salary business as anything else that has been said. Now I have already answered that in the general remarks I have made this evening, namely, when a Democrat from New Hampshire rose in his place and put a question to me, inquiring how much money it would take out of the Treasury if this salary act passed, and put it in the form of saying how much “plunder” it would take, I did not at first notice he used the word “plunder,” and I answered it would take a million and a half dollars out of the Treasury. Then Mr. Dawes rose and said, “Did my friend from Ohio notice the word ‘plunder?’ Does he acknowledge this to be ‘plunder?’” I then said, “No, I don’t acknowledge that this is plunder. If any gentleman thinks that he is taking more than is justly due him in his conscience, let him call it plunder if he pleases.”

Now, an attempt has been made to make it appear that Mr. Garfield approved the salary act because he answered this man that he didn’t regard it as robbery. I answer now, I do not regard it as robbery, and never have.

Now, one word more before I leave this question. I am glad the American people rose up in indignation against that salary increase. There were some unkind and unjust things said by the people in their uprising, but they rose against it and rebuked it with a power and might that has been of very great service to the country during the last winter. It could not have been repealed but for the rebuke of the people, and I could not have led as I did lead in more than \$20,000,000 reduction of public expenses, if I had not felt behind me the weight and help and reinforcement of the indignation of the people in regard to that salary increase. I say it was an indecent thing to do, to increase the salary thus, and it was a great conservative thing for the people to do to demand its repeal; and it was repealed. But let us, in discussing it, deal with the subject according to the truth. I now pause to inquire if any gentleman in the audience has any questions to ask touching this salary, or anything concerning it? If they have, I shall be very glad to hear it. [The speaker here paused, but no questions being asked, he proceeded as follows:] If not, I pass to the subject my friend over yonder has seemed to be so anxious I should get to before I finish the last; and here I approach a question that in one sense is not a question at all, and in another sense it may be. I understand that several persons in the district are saying that Mr. Garfield has taken a fee for a so-called law opinion, but which, in fact, was something he ought not to have done—which was in reality a kind of fee for his official influence as a member of the Committee on Appropriations; or, to speak more plainly, that I accepted pay for a service as a kind of bribe, and that, too, in

#### THE SO-CALLED DE GOLLYER PAVEMENT.

Now, I have tried to state that in the broadest way, with the broadest point forward. I ask the attention of this audience for a few moments to the testimony. In the first place, I want the audience to understand that the city of Washington is governed, and has always been governed so far as its own improvements are concerned, by its own laws and its own people, just as much as Warren has been governed by its own corporate laws and authority. I remember perfectly well what has been paraded in the papers so much of late that

Congress has full power to legislate over the District of Columbia. Well, Congress has full jurisdiction over what is now called the District of Columbia, and Congress could, I suppose, make all the police regulations for the city of Washington; but Congress always allowed the city of Washington to have their city council, or a legislature, until the present time. We have abolished it, because we had a cumbrous machine. In the year 1871 a law was passed by Congress creating the board of public works, appointing a governor, and creating a legislature for the District of Columbia. That act stated what the board of public works could do and what the other branches of the District government could do; and among other things, it empowered the legislature to levy taxes to make improvements on the streets. The legislature met the board of public works, laid upon them an elaborate plan for improving the streets of Washington, a plan amounting to six million dollars in the first place, and the legislature adopted the plan and provided that one-third of the entire cost of carrying out that plan should be by assessing the front foot on the property holders, and the other two-thirds should be paid by money to be borrowed by the city government; in other words by the issuing of their bonds. The city government of Washington borrowed money and raised by special taxation enough to carry on a vast system of improvement. When they got ready to execute their plan one of the questions that came before them was, what kind of pavement shall we put in, and in what way shall we go about the business of letting our paving contracts? In order to settle that question they wrote to all the principal cities and found out all the methods pursued by them and finally appointed from leading officers of the army—General Humphreys, chief engineer; General Meigs, quartermaster-general; the Surgeon-General and General Babcock of the engineer corps; and those four men sat as an advising board, having no power but merely to advise. They took up all kinds of pavement ever made; specimens were sent in; they looked over the whole, and as a result recommended this: "We recommend you instead of letting this work be done by the lowest bidder, with all the scheming 'straw-bids' that may come in, to fix a tariff of prices you will pay for different kinds of pavement, and we recommend as follows: If you put down concrete pavement you had better say you will pay so much per square yard for putting it down. We have looked the cities all over and find that it is the proper amount to pay; but for stone so much; for gravel so much; for asphaltum so much; and for wood so much." Now, that board of public works adopted the plan and that schedule of prices, and having elected if they put those various kinds of pavements down, they would put them down at that rate, they then said to all comers "bring in your various kinds of pavements and show us their merits, and when we have examined them we will act."

Then the various paving companies and patentees all over the country who had what they called good pavements, presented themselves; but in almost all cases by their attorneys. They sent men there to represent the relative merits of the pavements. A pavement company in Chicago, employed Mr. Parsons, of Cleveland, as early as the month of April, 1872, to go before the board of public works and present the merits of their pavements. Mr. Parsons had nothing whatever to do with the question of prices; they had already been settled in advance by the board. Mr. Parsons was marshal of the Supreme Court at that time, and was just about running for Congress. He asked the Chief Justice of the United States whether there was any impropriety in his taking that case up and arguing it, merely because he was an appointee and under his direction, and the Chief Justice responded: "There was none in the world." He proceeded with the case until the 8th day of June, when for the first time I heard anything about it. This was two days before the adjournment of Congress. On that day Mr. Parsons came to me and said to me he had an important case; he had worked a good while on it but was called away. He must leave. He did not want to lose his fee in it—was likely to lose it unless the work was completed; he must go at any rate. He asked me if I would argue the case for him; if I would examine into the merits of this pavement and make a statement of it before the board. I said, "I will do it if I, on examination, find the patent what it purports to be—the best wood pavement patent there is, but I can't do it until after Congress adjourns." Congress adjourned two days later; the papers were sent to me of patents, modeled specimens, and documents showing where pavement had been used were forwarded to me. The investigation of the patents and the chemical analysis representing all the



elements of the pavement was a laborious task and I worked at it as faithfully as anything I ever worked at. I did it in open daylight. I have never been able to understand how anybody has seen anything in that on which to base an attack on me. I say I am to-day intellectually incapable of understanding the track of a man's mind who sees in this any ground for attacking me. I made the argument; there were two patents contained in that pavement itself; there were some forty different wood pavements proposed, and to carefully and analytically examine all the relative merits of those was no small work. Mr. Parsons was to get a fee providing he was successful, and not any if he was not successful, and hence the sum offered was large—a contingent fee, as every lawyer knows.

Now, I understand that it is said by some of these gentlemen that that was in some way or other with the United States Treasury. How? That pavement was to be paid for by the city of Washington, one-third of it assessed directly on the property holders, and paid for just as you pay for a pavement here in Warren, and the rest was to be paid to the city of Washington in money that it borrowed and for which the citizens are ultimately to be taxed to pay. But I was chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, you say, and the House of Representatives appropriated money for the District of Columbia. How? Whenever a pavement on any given street is laid in front of the United States Post Office, or the Patent Office or Treasury, the Government of the United States, as a mere matter of decent justice, paid its proper proportion in front of its own buildings as any other property holder would do, and that was all. Whatever was the legitimate, proper share of the United States to pay, it paid. Now does anybody see in what possible way that fact made it in any way improper for me to practice my profession in a location when I was not needed in the public service?

But some one says "the pavement was a bad one; it was a swindle." Who told you that? Why, a man that went to Washington to testify, and that had a different pavement of his own; he was glad to say that the De Gollyer pavement was a bad one. Now, I want you to understand, fellow-citizens, that of the one hundred and fifty miles of pavement in the city of Washington, fifty-three miles of it only are wooden pavements, and of the fifty-three miles of wooden pavement laid in Washington, there were 80,000 square yards of it only of the De Gollyer pavement. There are 150,000 square yards of wooden pavement laid in Washington, and 80,000 of it only were of this patent. There are ten or twelve different kinds of wooden pavement in Washington, and only one-twelfth of this is of this kind and the price of this pavement was fixed by a board of engineers before Mr. Parsons or I had a word to say on the subject. It was only just a question which of the two or three or ten pavements will you adopt; and I am here to-day to affirm that it is the best wood pavement that was ever laid. Now, I do not believe much in wooden pavements as compared with concrete or some other forms of pavements, and this board of engineers recommended concrete in preference to wood. But what were the facts? There were thirty-two different streets in Washington along which the people petitioned to have wooden pavement. They preferred wood pavement. It was cheaper than the asphaltum. They wanted wood pavement, and the American people generally believe in wood pavement; and the question was if these people want the wood pavement and are determined to have it, which pavement shall we give them, the best or not the best?

Now, I have before me here what I had when I made the argument, certificates from Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, and all the other cities where the pavement was laid, that it stood better than any wood pavement that had ever been laid, and in the report of this committee of investigation in Washington a letter was received from the board of public works of Chicago, dated October 31, 1874, in these words: "Since 1869 there have been laid here in Chicago 160,000 square yards of the De Gollyer pavement, and thus far it stands well and is in good condition." There is twice as much of that pavement in Chicago to-day as there is in Washington.

Now I will tell you another fact about it. The testimony before this committee discloses the following: "That in the city of New York they paid \$5.50 to \$6.50 per square yard; in the city of Brooklyn they paid \$5 per square yard, and in the city of Baltimore, for putting down Nicholson pavement (which is not so expensive), they paid \$4 per square yard." Now all the De Gollyer pavement put down in Washington was put down at \$3.50 per square yard under this tariff



of prices fixed by the board of public works upon the recommendation of the board of engineers. Well, now, fellow-citizens, who has raised this storm of criticism about the De Gollyer pavement? Who? Early last winter several of us came to the conclusion that the board of public works was an expensive machine; that it was costing the city of Washington too much; that it was overloading them with taxes, and that we were bound to pay too much money out of the Treasury to keep up our end of the business. But we set on foot an inquiry into the cause of the large expenditure, and a committee of investigation was appointed, and they have published some 1,900 pages of a report. They have gone over the whole ground of the doings of the board of public works and the city government; and as a result of it we have abolished that form of government and had the President appoint commissioners, and he has appointed Governor Dennison of our State as one of them, to manage the affairs of the District of Columbia until winter. That committee of investigation went over the whole ground of this business in Washington. It was a committee that had Senator Thurman of this State on it for one; Judge Jewett of Columbus for another man, who is now president of the Erie railroad, both of them Democrats of the strongest stamp. We had on, from the House as chairman of that committee, Judge Wilson of Indiana, one of the strongest and ablest and best of our members, and they went over this ground most thoroughly and severely. Mr. Parsons went before the committee and told them all he knew about this pavement, and told them what he knew of its merits, and told them he and I argued the case. It was early in the session when he told them that. Now, what has been said about that in Washington? Don't you think some of the one hundred Democrats would have been exceedingly willing to hit me a blow on the head if they had discovered anything in that to find fault with? The committee made its report in full, and not only made no possible reflection on me, but when asked about it said there was nothing whatever in the case that reflected in the slightest degree upon Mr. Garfield.

Now, in the midst of this tempest that was raised in the Painesville tea-pot a few weeks ago, the Hon. George W. Steele of Painesville wrote a letter to the chairman of the committee who had charge of that investigation, and he wrote back the following letter:

“CONNERSVILLE, IND., August 1, 1874.

“Hon. GEORGE W. STEELE.

“DEAR SIR: To the request for information as to whether or not the action of General Garfield in connection with the affairs of the District of Columbia was the subject of condemnation by the committee that recently had those affairs under consideration, *I answer that it was not; nor was there, in my opinion, any evidence that would have warranted any unfavorable criticism upon his conduct.*

“The facts disclosed by the evidence, so far as he is concerned, are briefly these: The Board of Public Works was considering the question as to the kind of pavements that should be laid. There was a contest as to the respective merits of various wooden pavements. Mr. Parsons represented, as attorney, the De Gollyer & McClelland patent, and being called away from Washington about the time the hearing was to be had before the Board of Public Works on this subject, procured General Garfield to appear before the board in his stead and argue the merits of this patent. This he did, and this was the whole of his connection with the matter. It was not a question as to the kind of contract that should be made, but as to whether this particular pavement should be laid. The criticism of the committee was not upon the *pavement* in favor of which General Garfield argued, but upon the *contract* made with reference to it; and there was no evidence which would warrant the conclusion that he had anything to do with the latter.

“Very respectfully, &c.,

J. M. WILSON.”

Now, fellow-citizens, it is not pleasant for me to be reading things of that sort concerning myself, that the man who had charge of the investigation in the District of Columbia, the man who wrote the report on the part of the House, who was the chairman of the committee, who knows all the facts in regard to it, says there was nothing whatever in the case that in the slightest degree reflected on me. It is left for the excessively virtuous judge of the probate court of Painesville, and perhaps the judge of the probate court of Trumbull county, to discover that this “De Gollyer business” was a fearful business on the part of General Garfield. [Tremendous applause.]

If there is any gentleman in this hall who has any question to ask in regard to the De Gollyer pavement business I shall be very glad to hear it.

Question. Was the appropriation for the payments for the pavements made before or after it was accepted by the board?

General Garfield. I am very glad to answer that question. By the first act of the Legislature of the District of Columbia, no contract was to be made, no work was to be done except upon appropriations already made. Congress had adjourned. The appropriations for the District of Columbia were made before I touched or had anything to do with this matter. It is true that the next year there were appropriations made for the District of Columbia, but the appropriation that Congress made never had anything to say about one pavement or another. Congress knew no more about the De Gollyer pavement or any other pavement than you in Warren did. It simply made the appropriation to pay for paving in front of its own buildings if it thought proper to do so, and that is all.

Question by Dr. Smith. Why didn't you make Dick (hic) up in the Twentieth (hic) up there give you \$7,500 instead of (hic) five thousand?

General Garfield. I understand Mr. Parsons was retained by these parties in Chicago, and they paid him a retaining fee of \$5,000 for his services whether he succeeded or not, and they were to pay him \$10,000 as a contingent fee if he succeeded. Mr. Parsons had done the bulk of the work. He came to me saying there were \$10,000 pending upon his success, of which he would pay half in case I made the argument and was successful. I suppose that is a fair explanation. I understand some gentlemen think that is a large fee; well it is a large fee, but it was nothing or that. Either all that was done went for nothing, or else it would be more. I don't know that those gentlemen said it was a large fee when Judge Trumbull made an argument in the Supreme Court and received \$10,000 out of the United States Treasury for it.

Question. General Garfield, allow me to ask one question. What question of law was submitted to you in that case? Was it a question of law or a question of the difference between the pavements?

General Garfield. There were questions both of law and of merit. In the first place there were forty-two different kinds of pavements presented. If the Government took one there might be a question of conflicting patents—there might be a patent lawsuit growing out of it, and I felt it to be my first duty to inquire whether the two patents that extend into this pavement were valid patents that could properly be sustained. I made that examination as the very first step I took in the case. I understand that the board of public works said that they did not care very much about that, on the ground that they probably would not pay a royalty in any case; but the fact was that the contractor himself—the owner of the patent—regarded it as a valuable franchise, and the validity of the patent was to him the first consideration.

Now, where there are forty patents or nearly that concerned, it is of some importance to know the relative validity of the patents.

Question. Would it have made any difference to the taxpayers of Washington, or to the Government treasury, whether Mr. Parsons received five thousand or twenty thousand dollars for his services?

General Garfield. Well, I suppose not. I never saw how it would.

If no further questions are to be asked I will conclude with a few general reflections on the whole subject.

Nothing is more distasteful to me than to speak of my own work—but this discussion has been made necessary by the persistent misrepresentations of those who assail me.

During my long public service the relation between the people of this district and myself has been one of mutual confidence and independence. I have tried to follow my own convictions of duty with little regard to personal consequences, relying upon the intelligence and justice of the people for approval and support. I have sought to promote, not merely local and class interests, but the general good of the whole country, believing that thereby I could honor the position I hold and the district I represent. On the other hand my constituents have given me the great support of their strong and intelligent approval. They have not always approved my judgment, nor the wisdom of my public acts. But they have sustained me because they knew I was earnestly following my convictions of duty, and because they did not want a representative to be the mere echo of the public voice, but an intelligent and independent judge of public questions.



[Mr. Garfield then referred to some local movements and to the opposition of certain politicians, and concluded as follows:]

In conclusion, I appeal from these men to the best men in the district—to men who are every way as worthy and every way as capable as they are to judge my conduct—nor do I hesitate to refer all inquiries to those noble men with whom I have acted during my public life. They have worked with me as representatives during all these years and know the character and quality of my work. I have sought to make myself worthy of an honorable fame among them, and have not sought in vain. They have placed me in many positions of large trust and responsibility, and in the present Congress I again hold the chairmanship of the committee of the second if not the first importance in the House of Representatives. I fearlessly appeal to the honorable members of the present Congress, and of all the Congresses in which I have served, to say if my conduct has not been high and worthy—the very reverse of what these home enemies represent it to be. [Applause.] All this time it has been a source of great strength and confidence to know that here in this district there has been a strong, manly, intelligent constituency willing to hold up my hands and enable me more effectually to serve the country and honor them by my service. While this has been true, a bitter few have long been doing all in their power to depreciate my work and weaken my support.

Mr. Wilkins. You are rising too fast; they are afraid of being eclipsed.

Mr. Garfield. In all this I have relied upon the good sense and justice of the people to understand both my motives and the motives and efforts of my enemies. On some questions of public policy there have been differences between some of my constituents and myself. For instance, on the currency question, I have followed what seemed to me to be the line of truth and duty, and in that course I believe that the majority of the people of this district now concur. Whether right or wrong in opinions of this sort, I have believed it to be my duty to act independently and in accordance with the best light I could find.

Fellow citizens, I believe I have done my country and you some service, and the only way I can still continue thus to serve you is by enjoying in a reasonable degree your confidence and support. I am very grateful for the expression of confidence which you have again given me by choosing me a seventh time as your candidate. It was an expression which I have reason to believe was the result of your deliberate judgment, based on a full knowledge of my record: and is all the more precious to me because it came after one of those storms of public feeling which sometimes sweeps away the work of a lifetime.

And now, in conclusion, if there is any question on anything I have discussed or that I have not discussed, which any gentleman desires to propound, I shall be very glad to hear it. [The speaker paused, but no questions being asked closed his remarks as follows:] I thank the audience for the very patient attention with which they have honored me. [Applause.]

The Republican Congressional Committee, in re-printing this speech, which was delivered by General Garfield in the face of his constituents, when the charges were fresh and public sentiment was in the highest degree exacting, call attention to the fact that this speech was circulated in large quantities throughout that district; that General Garfield was re-elected to Congress from the Nineteenth district of Ohio, in 1874, and again in 1876, and in 1878; and that in January, 1880, he was unanimously nominated by the Republican members of the Legislature of Ohio for the Senate of the United States, to which he was chosen by their unanimous vote. Those persons who do not find in these facts a sufficient judgment upon these petty and contemptible charges may find satisfaction in the subjoined statements:

LETTER OF JUDGE JEREMIAH S. BLACK, OF PENNSYLVANIA, U. S. ATTORNEY-GENERAL UNDER THE BUCHANAN ADMINISTRATION.

PHILADELPHIA, February 15, 1873.

Hon. J. G. BLAINE, *Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

MY DEAR SIR: From the beginning of the investigation concerning Mr. Ames's use of the Credit Mobilier I believed that General Garfield was free from all guilty connection with that



business. This opinion was founded not merely on my confidence in his integrity, but on some special knowledge of his case. I may have told you all about it in conversation, but I desire now to repeat it by way of reminder.

I assert unhesitatingly that whatever General Garfield may have done or forborne to do he acted in profound ignorance of the nature and character of the thing which Mr. Ames was proposing to sell. He had not the slightest suspicion that he was to be taken into a ring organized for the purpose of defrauding the public, nor did he know that the stock was in any manner connected with anything which came, or could come, within the legislative jurisdiction of Congress. The case against him lacks the *scienter* which alone constitutes guilt.

In the winter of 1869-'70 I told General Garfield of the fact that his name was on Ames's list that Ames charged him with being one of his distributees; explained to him the character origin and object of the Credit Mobilier; pointed out the connection it had with Congressional legislation, and showed him how impossible it was for a member of Congress to hold stock in it without bringing his private interests in conflict with his public duty. That all this was to him a perfectly new revelation I am as sure as I can be of such a fact, or of any fact which is capable of being proven only by moral circumstances. He then told me the whole story of Train's offer to him and Ames's subsequent solicitation and his own action in the premises, much as he details it to the committee. I do not undertake to reproduce the conversation, but the effect of it all was to convince me thoroughly that when he listened to Ames he was perfectly unconscious of anything evil. I watched carefully every word that fell from him on this point, and did not regard his narrative of the transaction in other respects with much interest, because in my view, everything else was insignificant. I did not care whether he had made a bargain technically binding or not; his integrity depended upon the question whether he acted with his eyes open. If he had known the true character of the proposition made to him he would not have endured it, much less embraced it.

Now, couple this with Mr. Ames's admission that he gave no explanation whatever of the matter to General Garfield, then reflect that not a particle of proof exists to show that he learned anything about it previous to his conversation with me, and I think you will say that it is altogether unjust to put him on the list of those who knowingly and wilfully joined the fraudulent association in question.

J. S. BLACK.

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#### TESTIMONY OF SENATOR THURMAN, OF OHIO, AND THE NEW YORK WORLD.

[From the *New York World*, October 10, 1873.]

Senator Thurman lets up on General Garfield, of Ohio, in this amiable fashion:

"Oakes Ames swore that Garfield got ten shares, and Garfield says that he did not do anything of the kind. There was a good deal of talk, but no proof against him, and I am compelled to say that Garfield gets out of it better than anybody else, and, on the whole, there was not sufficient evidence to fasten the corruption at his door."

After considering all the testimony, on the whole we concur in this view of Mr. Garfield's connection with the Credit Mobilier.

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#### FROM A DEMOCRATIC FELLOW-CONGRESSMAN.

Hon. R. Milton Speer, Democratic member of the Forty-third Congress from Pennsylvania, and recent chairman of the Democratic State committee, on his return from Cincinnati, addressed a Democratic ratification meeting at Pittsburg, in the course of which he remarked:

"This is my first public utterance since the Chicago nomination, and I desire to say right here that I served four years in Congress with General Garfield. I know him well and I honor him for his honesty, his integrity, his ability, his breadth of knowledge, and his upright character. But he represents the party of sectionalism, whilst General Hancock represents a united North and South."

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#### FROM HON. LUKE P. POLAND, OF VERMONT, CHAIRMAN OF THE "CREDIT MOBILIER" COMMITTEE OF 1873.

"I only desire to have an opportunity to express to the convention and to Republicans everywhere my entire approval of the nomination made at Chicago. Probably no man in Vermont knows General Garfield more intimately than myself. He was in Congress during the whole of my ten years' service, and for eight years we stood together in the House, and ever on terms of friendship and intimacy. Of his eminent ability, power in debate, and untiring devotion to public service, I need not speak. His long service and leading position in Congress have made

them known to all the people of the country who take any interest in public affairs. But our political opponents affect to question his personal integrity and purity of character, and to base their accusations upon the evidence taken before, and report of a committee of Congress, of which I was chairman, known as the Credit Mobilier committee. Now, I desire to say to the convention, and to all who may feel any interest in my opinion of General Garfield, that nothing which appeared before that committee, or which appears in their report, or any other matter or thing which ever came to my knowledge in regard to him, ever led me to doubt his personal integrity. I believe him to be a thoroughly upright and honest man, and one who would be so under all circumstances and against any temptation. The use that is being made of my name and of the report of the committee which was drawn by me, in my opinion, makes it proper for me to express my personal judgment as to the character of the man."

FROM HON. GEORGE W. McCRARY, MEMBER OF THE SAME COMMITTEE.

KEOKUK, IOWA, July 17, 1880.

To the Hon. CHARLES BEARDSLY, *Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR SIR: Upon my return from St. Paul I find your favor of the 16th ultimo awaiting me. In reply to your inquiry I say, without qualification, that I regard General Garfield as a man of thorough integrity. I served with him in Congress eight years, and came to know him very intimately. My confidence in his purity of character was strengthened by acquaintance and by familiarity with his daily life.

In the Credit Mobilier investigation there appeared a conflict of testimony between General Garfield and Oakes Ames as to the character of their transactions, but the committee were unanimously of the opinion that even upon Ames's own statement General Garfield had done no wrong, and Democrats and Republicans united in so reporting. The paragraph in the report which seems to decide the disputed questions of fact in favor of Ames was based upon entries in his memorandum book which were offered to corroborate his recollection. It was at most no more than the common case of difference in recollection between parties to a past transaction. Such conflicts are of daily occurrence in our courts, and are decided, as they must be, one way or the other without any reflection upon the veracity of the witness whose recollection is not sustained. With respect, however, to this transaction, I must say that subsequent developments and further consideration of the matter long ago led me to the conclusion that the memorandum of Mr. Ames was very unreliable, and I have for years felt assured of the correctness of General Garfield's recollection of the facts in dispute.

Very sincerely yours,

GEO. W. McCRARY.

STATEMENT OF GEN. NATHANIEL P. BANKS, OF MASSACHUSETTS, MEMBER OF THE SAME COMMITTEE.

Remembering that General Nathaniel P. Banks was one of the committee which in 1873 had under investigation the connection of members of Congress with the Credit Mobilier affair, the General was waited upon at his office in the United States court-house and asked if he had any objections to giving *The Transcript* his impressions, as he remembered them, of Mr. Garfield's standing before the committee. General Banks said that he had not the slightest objection. The committee, he said, was composed of two Republicans, (Mr. Poland, of Vermont, and Mr. McCrary, of Iowa, afterward Secretary of War,) two Democrats (Messrs. Niblack, of Indiana, and Merrick, of Maryland, the latter an able lawyer and prominent Southern Democrat,) and himself. General Garfield was not compromised at all, in the judgment of the committee, which was unanimous in the report that was subsequently sustained by each of the committee before the House. General Banks, who has known the Republican Presidential candidate since 1861, spoke of General Garfield's clean reputation in Congress, saying that he was always without stain; that his word or statement always passed without a doubt with men of all parties.

FROM HON. GEORGE F. HOAR, OF MASSACHUSETTS, MEMBER OF THE "WILSON COMMITTEE."

"I was one of the committee who investigated the Credit Mobilier, and wrote the greater part of the report of the committee known as the Wilson Committee. There was nothing in the transaction which in the least gave me reason to distrust General Garfield's absolute integrity. I expressed my opinion of the absolute honor and integrity of General Garfield in this matter years ago. No man, Democrat or Republican, who ever served with Garfield, does, I think, doubt that he is absolutely incorruptible. He has been for years on the Committees of Appropriation and Ways and Means, controlling the expenditure of millions upon millions, and policies that make and unmake great business interests."



# Can the Democratic Party be Safely Intrusted with the Administration of the Government?

## SPEECH OF

# HON. JAMES A. GARFIELD,

OF OHIO,

In the House of Representatives, Friday, August 4, 1876.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the bill (H. R. No. 2592) to transfer the conduct of Indian affairs from the Interior Department to the War Department—

Mr. GARFIELD said :

Mr. CHAIRMAN : I regret that the speech of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. LAMAR] has not yet appeared in the RECORD, so that I might have had its full and authentic text before offering my own remarks in reply. But his propositions were so clearly and so very ably stated, the doctrines that run through it were so logically connected, it will be my own fault if I fail to understand and appreciate the general scope and purpose of his speech.

In the outset, I desire for myself and for a majority, at least, of those for whom I speak, to express my gratitude to the gentleman for all that portion of his speech which had for its object the removal of the prejudices and unkindly feelings that have arisen among citizens of the Republic, in consequence of the late war. Whatever faults the speech may have, its author expresses an earnest desire to make progress in the direction of a better understanding between the North and the South ; and in that it meets my most hearty concurrence and approval.

I will attempt to state briefly what I understand to be the logic of the gentleman's speech. He sets out with deploring the evils of party, and expressing the belief that the great mass of the American people are tired of much that belongs to party ; and, looking beyond and above mere party prejudices and passions, they greatly desire to remove public corruptions, and reform the manifold errors and evils of administration and legislation ; that those errors and evils consist mainly of two things : First, of a generally corrupt state of public administration ; and second, of a deplorable state of the civil service ; that this state of affairs is buttressed and maintained by an enormous army of 100,000 civil office-holders and 100,000 more expectants for office ; and that because of

this vast force the people have hitherto been unable to make the reforms they desire. This is his major premise.

The next point, his minor premise, is that the Republican party is incapable of effecting the great reforms which the people desire ; and his conclusion from these premises is that the Democratic party ought to be brought into power in the coming election.

This was the summary, and, I may say, abrupt, conclusion of his reasoning. The gentleman seemed to be aware that there might be some apprehensions in the minds of the people that it would not, quite yet, be safe to recall the Democratic party to power ; and he endeavored to quiet those apprehensions by stating in the first place that there need be no fear that the South, lately in rebellion, would again control the Government ; that they were prostrated ; that their institutions had been overthrown ; that their industries had been broken up ; that in their weak and broken condition there need be no fear that they would again be placed at the head of public affairs ; and, finally, that the South has united with the Democratic party not from choice, but forced to it by inexorable necessity as their only means of protection.

In the second place, there was apprehension, he said, that the Democracy, if they came into power, would not preserve the beneficial results of the war. But he assures us that this fear is groundless ; that the people of the South have no aspirations which are not bounded by the horizon of the Union ; that they, as well as the Democracy of the North, accept, honestly and sincerely, the great results of the war ; and that they can be trusted to preserve all the good that has been gained.

Again he says it is feared, on the part of many, that the colored race, lately enslaved, will not be safe in the full enjoyment of all the rights resulting from the war and guaranteed by the amendments to the Constitution. This he also assures us is a ground-



less fear, because the people of the South understand the colored race, appreciate their qualities, and are on such a footing of friendship and regard that they are in fact better fitted to meet the wants of that people and help them along in the way of civilization, enlightenment, and peace, than those who are further removed from such knowledge.

He emphasizes the statement that the South cheerfully accepts the results of the war; and admits that that much good has been achieved by the Republican party, which ought to be preserved. I was gratified to hear the gentleman speak of Lincoln as "the illustrious author of the great act of emancipation." That admission will be welcomed everywhere by those who believe in the justice and wisdom of that great act. While speaking of the condition of the South and its wants he deploras two evils which afflict that portion of our country: First, Federal supervision; and second, negro ascendancy in its political affairs. In that connection, it will be remembered, he quoted from John Stuart Mill and from Gibbon; the one, to show that the most deplorable form of government is where the slave governs; and from the other, to show the evils of a government which is in alien hands. The gentleman represented the South as suffering the composite evils depicted by both these great writers. That I may be sure to do him justice I quote a paragraph from the Associated Press report of his speech:

The inevitable effect of that reconstruction policy had been to draw one race to its support and drive the other race to its opposition. He quoted Gibbon, the historian, as saying that the most absurd and oppressive system of government which could be conceived of is that which subjects the native of a country to the domination of his slave. He also quoted from John Stuart Mill to the effect that when a government is administered by rulers not responsible to the people governed, but to some other community, it is one of the worst of conceivable governments, and he said that the hideous system established in the South is a composite of those two vicious systems. The people are subjected to the domination of their former slaves and are ruled over by people whose constituents were not the people for whom they should act, but the Federal Government.

Now, I have stated—of course very briefly, but I hope with entire fairness—the scope of the very able speech to which we listened. In a word it is this: the Republican party is oppressing the South; negro suffrage is a grievous evil; there are serious corruptions in public affairs in the national legislation and Administration; the civil service of the country especially needs great and radical reform; and therefore the Democratic party ought to be placed in control of the Government at this time by the election of Tilden and Hendricks.

It has not been my habit, and it is not my desire, to discuss mere party politics in this great legislative forum. And I shall do so

now only in so far as a fair review of the gentleman's speech requires. My remarks shall be responsive to his; and I shall discuss party history and party policy only as the logic of his speech leads into that domain.

From most of the premises of the gentleman, as matters of fact and history, I dissent: some of them are undoubtedly correct. But, for the sake of argument only, admitting that all his premises are correct, I deny that his conclusion is warranted by his premises; and, before I close I shall attempt to show that the good he seeks cannot be secured by the ascendancy of the Democratic party at this time.

Before entering upon that field, however, I must notice this remarkable omission in the logic of his speech. Although he did state that the country might consider itself free from some of the dangers which are apprehended as the result of Democratic ascendancy, he did not, as I remember, by any word attempt to prove the fitness of the Democracy as a political organization to accomplish the reforms which he so much desires; and without that affirmative proof of fitness his argument is necessarily an absolute failure.

It is precisely that fear which has not only made the ascendancy of the Democratic party so long impossible, but has made it incompetent to render that service so necessary to good government—the service of maintaining the position of a wise and honorable opposition to the dominant party. Often the blunders and faults of the Republican party have been condoned by the people because of the violent, reactionary, and disloyal spirit of the Democracy.

He tells us that is one of the well-known lessons of political history and philosophy; that the opposition party comes in to preserve and crystalize the measures which their antagonists inaugurated; and that a conservative opposition party is better fitted to accomplish such a work than an aggressive radical party who roughly pioneered the way and brought in the changes. And to apply this maxim to our own situation he tells us that the differences between the Republican and Democratic parties upon the issues which led to the war and those which grew out of it, were rather differences of time than of substance; that the Democracy followed more slowly in the Republican path, but have at last arrived by prudent and constitutional methods at the same results; and hence they will be sure to guard securely and cherish faithfully what the Republicans gained by reckless and turbulent methods. There is some truth in these "glittering generalities," but, as applied to our present situation, they are entitled only to the consideration which we give to the bright but fantastic pictures of a Utopian dream.

I share all that gentleman's aspirations

for peace, for good government at the South ; and I believe I can safely assure him that the great majority of the nation shares the same aspirations. But he will allow me to say that he has not fully stated the elements of the great problem to be solved by the statesmanship of to-day. The actual field is much broader than the view he has taken. And before we can agree that the remedy he proposes is an adequate one, we must take in the whole field, comprehend all the conditions of the problem, and then see if his remedy is sufficient. The change he proposes is not like the ordinary change of a ministry in England when the Government is defeated on a tax bill or some routine measure of legislation. He proposes to turn over to the custody and management of the Government to a party which has persistently and with the greatest bitterness resisted all the great changes of the last fifteen years, changes which were the necessary results of a vast revolution—a revolution in national policy, in social and political ideas—a revolution whose causes were not the work of a day nor of a year, but of generations and centuries. The scope and character of that mighty revolution must form the basis of our judgment when we inquire whether such a change as he proposes is safe and wise.

In discussing his proposition we must not forget that as the result of this resolution the South, after the great devastations of war, the great loss of life and treasure, the overthrow of its social and industrial system, was called upon to confront the new and difficult problem of two races ; one just released from centuries of slavery, and the other a cultivated, brave, proud, imperious race, to be brought together on terms of equality before the law. New, difficult, delicate, and dangerous questions bristle out from every point of that problem.

But that is not all of the situation. On the other hand, we see the North, after leaving its 350,000 dead upon the field of battle and bringing home its 500,000 maimed and wounded to be cared for, crippled in its industries, staggering under the tremendous burden of public and private debt, and both North and South weighted with unparalleled burdens and losses—the whole nation suffering from that loosening of the bonds of social order which always follows a great war and from the resulting corruption both in the public and the private life of the people. These, Mr. Chairman, constitute the vast field which we must survey in order to find the path which will soonest lead our beloved country to the highway of peace, of liberty, and prosperity. Peace from the shock of battle ; the higher peace of our streets, of our homes, of our equal rights we must make secure by making the conquering ideas of the war everywhere dominant and permanent.

With all my heart I join with the gentleman in rejoicing that—

The war-drums throb no longer and the battle-flags are furled,

and I look forward with joy and hope to the day when our brave people, one in heart, one in their aspirations for freedom and peace, shall see that the darkness through which we have traveled was a part of that stern but beneficent discipline by which the Great Disposer of events has been leading us on to a higher and nobler national life.

But such a result can be reached only by comprehending the whole meaning of the revolution through which we have passed and are still passing. I say still passing : for I remember that after the battle of arms comes the battle of history. The cause that triumphs in the field does not always triumph in history. And those who carried the war for union and equal and universal freedom to a victorious issue can never safely relax their vigilance until the ideas for which they fought have become embodied in the enduring forms of individual and national life.

Has this been done? Not yet.

I ask the gentleman in all plainness of speech, and yet in all kindness, is he correct in his statement that the conquered party accept the results of the war? Even if they do I remind the gentleman that *accept* is not a very strong word. I go further. I ask him if the Democratic party have *ad pted* the results of the war? Is it not asking too much of human nature to expect such unparalleled changes to be not only accepted, but, in so short a time, adopted by men of strong and independent opinions?

The antagonisms which gave rise to the war and grew out of it were not born in a day, nor can they vanish in a night.

Mr. Chairman, great ideas travel slowly, and for a time, noiselessly as the gods whose feet were shod with wool. Our war of independence was a war of ideas, of ideas evolved out of two hundred years of slow and silent growth. When, one hundred years ago, our fathers announced as self-evident truths the declaration that all men are created equal, and the only just power of governments is derived from the consent of the governed, they uttered a doctrine that no nation had ever adopted, that not one kingdom on the earth then believed. Yet to our fathers it was so plain that they would not debate it. They announced it as a truth "self-evident."

Whence came the immortal truths of the Declaration? To me, this was, for years, the riddle of our history. I have searched long and patiently through the books of the *doctrinaires* to find the germs from which the Declaration of Independence sprang. I found hints in Locke, in Hobbes, in Rousseau, and



Fenelon; but they were only the hints of dreamers and philosophers. The great doctrines of the Declaration germinated in the hearts of our fathers, and were developed under the new influences of this wilderness world, by the same subtle mystery which brings forth the rose from the germ of the rose-tree. Unconsciously to themselves, the great truths were growing under the new conditions until, like the century plant, they blossomed into the matchless beauty of the Declaration of Independence, whose fruitage, increased and increasing, we enjoy to-day.

It will not do, Mr. Chairman, to speak of the gigantic revolution through which we have lately passed as a thing to be adjusted and settled by a change of administration. It was cyclical, epochal, century-wide, and to be studied in its broad and grand perspective—a revolution of even wider scope, so far as time is concerned, than the Revolution of 1776. We have been dealing with elements and forces which have been at work on this continent more than two hundred and fifty years. I trust I shall be excused if I take a few moments to trace some of the leading phases of the great struggle. And in doing so, I beg gentlemen to see that the subject itself lifts us into a region where the individual sinks out of sight and is absorbed in the mighty current of great events. It is not the occasion to award praise or pronounce condemnation. In such a revolution men are like insects, that fret and toss in the storm, but are swept onward by the resistless movements of elements beyond their control. I speak of this revolution not to praise the men who aided it, nor to censure the men who resisted it, but as a force to be studied, as a mandate to be obeyed.

In the year 1620 there were planted, upon this continent, two ideas irreconcilably hostile to each other. Ideas are the great warriors of the world; and a war that has no ideas behind it is simply brutality. The two ideas were landed, one at Plymouth Rock from the Mayflower, and the other from a Dutch brig at Jamestown, Virginia. One was the old doctrine of Luther, that private judgment, in politics as well as religion, is the right and duty of every man; and the other that capital should own labor, that the negro had no rights of manhood, and the white man might justly buy, own, and sell him and his offspring forever. Thus freedom and equality on the one hand, and on the other the slavery of one race and the domination of another, were the two germs planted on this continent. In our vast expanse of wilderness, for a long time, there was room for both, and their advocates began the race across the continent, each developing the social and political institutions of their choice. Both had vast interests in common; and for a long time neither was

conscious of the fatal antagonisms that were developing.

For nearly two centuries there was no serious collision; but when the continent began to fill up, and the people began to jostle against each other; when the Roundhead and the Cavalier came near enough to measure opinions, the irreconcilable character of the two doctrines began to appear. Many conscientious men studied the subject, and came to the belief that slavery was a crime, a sin, or as Wesley said, "the sum of all villainies." This belief dwelt in small minorities for a long time. It lived in the churches and vestries, but later found its way into the civil and political organizations of the country, and finally found its way into this Chamber. A few brave, clear-sighted, far-seeing men announced it here a little more than a generation ago. A predecessor of mine, Joshua R. Giddings, following the lead of John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, almost alone, held up the banner on this floor, and, from year to year, comrades came to his side. Through evil and through good report he pressed the question upon the conscience of the nation; and bravely stood in his place in this House, until his white locks, like the plume of Henry of Navarre, showed where the battle for freedom raged most fiercely.

And so the contest continued; the supporters of slavery believing honestly and sincerely that slavery was a divine institution; that it found its high sanctions in the living oracles of God and in a wise political philosophy; that it was justified by the necessities of their situation; and that slaveholders were missionaries to the dark sons of Africa, to elevate and bless them. We are so far past the passions of that early time that we can now study the progress of the struggle as a great and inevitable development, without sharing in the crimination and recrimination that attended it. If both sides could have seen that it was a contest beyond their control; if both parties could have realized the truth that "unsettled questions have no pity for the repose of nations," much less for the fate of political parties, the bitterness, the sorrow, the tears, and the blood might have been avoided. But we walked in the darkness, our paths obscured by the smoke of the conflict, each following his own convictions through ever-increasing fierceness, until the debate culminated in "the last argument to which kings resort."

This conflict of opinion was not merely one of sentimental feeling; it involved our whole political system; it gave rise to two radically different theories of the nature of our Government: the North believing and holding that we were a nation, the South insisting that we were only a confederation of sovereign States, and insisting that each State had the right, at its own discretion, to



break the Union, and constantly threatening secession where the full rights of slavery were not acknowledged.

Thus the defense and aggrandizement of slavery and the hatred of abolitionism became not only the central idea of the Democratic party, but its master passion; a passion intensified and inflamed by twenty-five years of fierce political contest, which had not only driven from its ranks all those who preferred freedom to slavery, but had absorbed all the extreme pro-slavery elements of the fallen Whig party. Over against this was arrayed the Republican party, asserting the broad doctrines of nationality and loyalty, insisting that no State had a right to secede, that secession was treason, and demanding that the institution of slavery should be restricted to the limits of the States where it already existed. But here and there many bolder and more radical thinkers declared, with Wendell Phillips, that there never could be union and peace, freedom and prosperity, until we were willing to see John Hancock under a black skin.

That we may see more clearly the opinions which were to be settled by war I will read two passages from the Congressional Globe, not for the purpose of making a personal point against any man, but simply to show where honest men stood when that contest was approaching its crisis. I read from a speech made on the 19th day of December, 1859, by the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi, [Mr. SINGLETON,] then and now a member of this House :

The South will never submit to that state of things. It matters not what evils come upon us; it matters not how deep we have to wade through blood; we are bound to keep our slaves in their present position. And let me ask you, what good would you bring to the slaves by this process of abolition? You may possibly have the object in view of benefiting the slave or benefiting the white race or both; but suppose you could carry out your plans and confine us to our present area, and suppose that the institution of slavery should abolish itself, what would you have done? You know it is impossible for us to live on terms of equality with them. It is not to be supposed for moment that we can do so. The result would be a war between the races, which would perhaps involve the utter annihilation of one or the other; and thus you see that instead of benefiting either you would have brought disaster upon both.

But I tell you here, to-day, that the institution of slavery must be sustained. The South has made up its mind to keep the black race in bondage. If we are not permitted to do this inside of the Union, I tell you that it will be done outside of it. Yes, sir, and we will expand this institution; we do not intend to be confined within our present limits; and there are not men enough in all your borders to coerce three million armed men in the South, and prevent their going into the surrounding Territories.

In the course of that debate, the same gentleman said :

I am one of those who have said, and here repeat it, if the black Republican party elect a President I am for dissolving the Union.

I have no doubt the gentleman fairly and

faithfully represented the opinions of his State. Not long before the date of this speech, it will be remembered that two distinguished members of the Republican party had uttered their opinions on this question. Mr. Lincoln had said that it was impossible for a country to remain partly slave and partly free. And Mr. Seward had said that there was an irrepressible conflict between the systems of free and slave labor, which could never cease until one or the other was wholly overthrown. The Republican party, however, disclaimed all right or purpose to interfere with slavery in the States; yet they expressed the hope that the time would come when there should be no slave under our flag. In response to that particular opinion, the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi, [Mr. LAMAR,] then a member of this House, on the 23d day of December, 1859, said this:

I was upon the floor of the Senate when your great leader, William H. Seward, announced that startling programme of anti-slavery sentiment and action. \* \* \* And, sir, in his exultation he exclaimed—for I heard him myself—that he hoped to see the day when there would not be the foot-print of a single slave upon this continent. And when he uttered this atrocious sentiment, his form seemed to dilate, his pale, thin face, furrowed by the lines of thought and evil passions, kindled with malignant triumph, and his eye glowed and glared upon Southern Senators as though the fires of hell were burning in his heart.

I have read this passage to mark the height to which the antagonism had risen in 1859. And this passage enables us to measure the progress he has since made.

I mark it here as one of the notable signs of the time, that the gulf which intervenes between the position then occupied by the gentleman from Mississippi and the position he occupies to-day is so deep, so vast, that it indicates a progress worthy of all praise. I congratulate him and the country that, in so short a time, so great a change has been possible.

Now I ask the gentleman if he is quite sure, as a matter of fact, that the Democratic party, its Southern as well as its Northern wing, have followed his own illustrious and worthy example in the vast progress he has made since 1859? He assures us that the transformation has been so complete that the nation can safely trust all the most precious fruits of the war in the hands of that party who stood with him in 1859. If that be true, I rejoice at it with all my heart; but the gentleman must pardon me if I ask him to assist my wavering faith by some evidence, some consoling proofs. When did the great transformation take place? Certainly not within two years after the delivery of the speech I have quoted; for two years from that time the contest had risen much higher; it had risen to the point of open, terrible, and determined war. Did the change come during the war? O, no; for in the four terrible years ending in 1865, every resource of

courage and power that the Southern States could muster was employed not only to save slavery but to destroy the Union. So the transformation had not occurred in 1865. When did it occur? Aid our anxious inquiry, for the nation ought to be sure that the great change has occurred before it can safely trust its destinies to the Democratic party. Did it occur in the first epoch of reconstruction—the two years immediately following the war? During that period the attempt was made to restore governments in the South on the basis of the white vote. Military control was held generally; but the white population of the Southern States were invited to elect their own Legislatures and establish provisional governments.

In the laws, covering a period of two and a half years, 1865, 1866, and a portion of 1867, enacted by those Legislatures, we ought to find proof of the transformation if it had then occurred. What do we find? What we should naturally expect: that a people, accustomed to the domination of slavery, reenacted in almost all of the Southern States, and notably in the States of Mississippi and Louisiana, laws limiting and restricting the liberty of the colored man; vagrant laws and peonage laws, whereby negroes were sold at auction for the payment of a paltry tax or fine, and held in a slavery as real as the slavery of other days. I believe that this was true of nearly all of the Southern States; so that the experiment of allowing the white population of the South to adjust that very question proved a frightful failure; and then it was that the National Congress intervened. They proposed an act of reconstruction, an act which became a law on the 2d of March, 1867.

And what was that act? Gentlemen of the South, you are too deeply schooled in philosophy to take any umbrage at what I shall now say, for I am dealing only with history. You must know, and certainly do know, that the great body of the nation which had carried the war to triumph and success knew that the eleven States that had opposed the Union had plunged their people into crime; a crime set down in the law—a law signed by President Washington—at the very top of the catalogue of crimes: the crime of treason and all that follows it. You certainly know that, under that law, every man who voluntarily took up arms against the Union could have been tried, convicted, and hanged as a traitor to his country. But I call your attention to the fact that the conquering nation said, in this great work of reconstruction, "We will do nothing for revenge, everything for permanent peace;" and you know there never was a trial for treason in this country during the whole of the struggle nor after it; no man was executed for treason; no man was tried. There was no expatriation, no exile, no con-

fiscation after the war. The only revenge which the conquering nation gratified was this: In saying to the South "You may come back to your full place in the Union when you do these things: join with the other States in putting into the Constitution a provision that the national debt shall never be repudiated; that your rebel war debt shall never be paid, and that all men, without regard to race or color, shall stand equal before the law; not in suffrage, but in civil rights; that these great guarantees of liberty and public faith shall be lifted above the reach of political parties, above the legislation of States, above the legislation of Congress, and shall be set in the serene firmament of the Constitution, to shine as lights forever and forever. And under that equal sky, under the light of that equal sun, all men, of whatever race or color, shall stand equal before the law."

That was the plan of reconstruction offered to those who had been in rebellion, offered by a generous and brave nation; and I challenge the world to show an act of equal generosity to a conquered people. What answer did it meet? By the advice of Andrew Johnson, a bad adviser, backed by the advice of the Northern Democracy, a still worse adviser, ten of the eleven States lately in rebellion contemptuously rejected the plan of reconstruction embraced in the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution. They would have none of it; they had been invited by their Northern allies to stand out, and were told that when the Democracy came into power they should be permitted to come back to their places without guarantees or conditions.

This brings us to 1868. Had the transformation occurred then? For remember, gentlemen, I am searching for the date of the great transformation similar to that which has taken place in the gentleman from Mississippi. We do not find it in 1868. On the contrary, in that year, we find Frank P. Blair, of Missouri, writing these words, which a few days after they were written gave him the nomination for the Vice-Presidency on the Democratic ticket—

There is but one way to restore government and the Constitution; and that is for the President elect to declare all these acts—

And the constitutional amendment with them—

to declare all these acts null and void, compel the army to undo its usurpations at the south, and disperse the carpet-bag State government— and allow the white people to reorganize their own governments and elect Senators and Representatives.

Because he wrote that letter he was nominated for Vice-President by the Democratic party. Therefore, as late as July, 1868, the transformation had not occurred.

Had it occurred in 1872? In 1871 and 1872 all the amendments of the Constitution had been adopted, against the stubborn re-



sistance of the Northern and Southern Democracy. I call you to witness that, with the exception of three or four Democratic Representatives who voted for the abolition of slavery, the three great amendments, the thirteenth, the fourteenth, and the fifteenth, met the determined and united opposition of the Democracy of this country. Each of the amendments, now so praised by the gentleman, was adopted against the whole weight of your resistance. And two years after the adoption of the last amendment, in many of your State platforms, they were declared to be null and void.

In 1871 and 1872 occurred throughout the South those dreadful scenes enacted by the Kuklux organizations, of which I will say only this, that a man *facile princeps* among the Democrats of the slave-holding States Reverdy Johnson, who was sent down to defend those who were indicted for their crimes, held up his hands in horror at the shocking barbarities that had been perpetrated by his clients upon negro citizens. I refer to the evidence of that eminent man as a sufficient proof of the character of that great conspiracy against the freedom of the colored race. So the transformation had not come in the days of Kuklux of 1871 and 1872.

Had it come in 1873 and the beginning of 1874? Had it come in the State of Mississippi? Had it come in one quarter of the States lately in rebellion? Here is a report from an honorable committee of this House, signed by two gentlemen who are still members, Mr. CONGER and Mr. HURLBERT—a report made as late as December, 1874, in which there is disclosed, by innumerable witnesses, the proof that the White Line organization, an armed military organization formed within the Democratic party, had leagued themselves together to prevent the enjoyment of suffrage and equal rights by the colored men of the South. Without detaining the House to read them now, I will quote two or three paragraphs from the report, dated December 14, 1874, and printed House Document No. 265.

#### THE "WHITE LINE."

This interior organization has not yet assumed definitely in the State of Mississippi such precise form and so distinct an existence as in the State of Louisiana, but is unquestionably an extension into Mississippi of the "White League" organization, whose headquarters are in New Orleans. In Warren county it is so often called the "White Line," and by that name is familiarly spoken of by the leading papers of Vicksburg, as well as by some of the prominent witnesses before this committee. It is also known as "people's clubs," but in all instances the formation of the clubs, or civil organization is accompanied by establishing within the clubs themselves a military organization, officered, equipped, and armed.

Thus the clubs and the tax payers' league are open associations, apparently directed toward objects in which all citizens might lawfully unite, but controlled from within by the military and partisan organizations whose purposes are special and lawful.

The purposes of these clubs of white line companies are these, as they are openly avowed or secretly cherished:

- 1 They are first to make a census and enrollment of all the white men in the State.
2. To incorporate into the interior military organizations all the whites who will join with them.
- 3 To set aside, by whatever means may be necessary, the election of colored men to office, and to nullify in practice the enabling and enforcement acts of Congress, granting and enforcing the right of all citizens, without distinction of color, to hold offices, if properly elected to them.
- 4 To allow none but white men to be elected to office or to hold office.

And how was it about the same time, and even later, in other States? Here is a report upon Louisiana, the report from which the gentleman quoted, a report that exhibits the same condition of affairs, signed by the gentleman who sits in front of me, [Mr. HOAR.] Although by a minority of the committee, it is a report of great power and of indubitable truth. I quote from page 18:

The White League is an organization which exists in New Orleans, and contains at least from twenty five hundred to three thousand members, armed, drilled, and officered as a military organization. Organizations bearing the same name extend throughout many parts of the State.

\* \* \* \* \*  
On the 14th of September, 1874, it arose upon and attacked the police of the city, the pretext of the attack being the seizure of arms which it had imported from the North; and having defeated them with considerable slaughter, it took possession of the State-house, overthrew the State government, and installed a new governor in office, and kept him in power until the United States interfered. This rising was planned beforehand.

\* \* \* \* \*  
The White League of New Orleans itself was and is a constant menace to the Republicans of the whole State.

\* \* \* \* \*  
We cannot doubt that the effect of all these things was to prevent a full, free, and fair election, and to intimidate the colored voters and the white Republicans.

So the transformation had not occurred in August, 1874. I come down now to 1875, to the late autumn of that year, and ask if the transformation had then occurred. I will not detain the House by reading the testimony of the cloud of witnesses which gathers around me, but will print a few specimens of the proof, most of them relating to the recent State election in Mississippi. While I say, to the honor of the gentleman from Mississippi, that in his own State he spoke against the organization of the White Line, it is unquestionably true that he was not supported by a like action on the part of the great mass of his political associates. With the permission of the House I will quote from a number of papers in his State, which say, with the utmost boldness, that though Col. LAMAR spoke against the White Line, and though the State convention ignored it, yet, back of the convention and back of the gentleman himself, the White Line was formed and carried the election, and intends in the same way to carry the next.



The following quotations need no comment:  
[From the Columbus (Mississippi) Index,  
August, 1875.]

Already do we see signs in our State of the good effects of the color line. Prior to its organization there was no harmony or unity of action among the whites. The negroes had perfected their race in organizations and were able to control the politics of the State. The whites, after having attempted every scheme to secure an intelligent government and a co-operation of the negroes in this behalf, wisely gave it up and determined to organize themselves as a race and meet the issue that had presented itself for ten years.

Now we recognize the fact that the State is most thoroughly aroused, more harmonious in its actions, and more determined to succeed in the coming election than it has been since the days of secession.

\* \* \* \* \*  
So the grand result of the color line has been accomplished in organizing the white people of the State and placing them in a position to control the coming election. No other policy could have effected the result.

[From the Shubuta Times.]

Call it what you please. Some call it the color line. It looks to us like the white line. It shall be seen who in this emergency can choose to stand with the negroes as against the whites. Mark them.

[From the Handsborough Democrat.]

We are in favor of the color line as a principle, a necessity, and a policy.

[From the Meridian Mercury.]

Rally on the color line, boys, beyond the platform, every man to his color and colors, and make these negro pretenders to govern this great country to come down, else put 'em down. What do the young men say to the old men's battle-cry in this political campaign, "Step across the platform, boys, and go for 'em."

[From the Forest Register.]

The body of the Democratic party will carry their colors of the White Line over the State. Some of the auxiliaries in a scout or bush-whacking manœuvre may use a mild, conservative face over the flag, but still it will rest on a white journal. To the Radicals we say, just superintend your structure; we will raise our own flag and colors.

The Vicksburg Herald, speaking of the State Democratic convention of August 9, 1875, says:

The color line was by common consent ignored. It was only mentioned incidentally, and it was not "killed off" either by the speech of Colonel LAMAR or by a vote of the convention. The representatives of the people expressed no opinion on the subject. The convention left each county to manage its own affairs in its own way.

Speaking of the State Democratic platform of August 9, 1875, the Columbus Index says:

We stand on the color line, because it is tacitly indorsed by the platform, and because we believe it to be the only means of redeeming this and other counties from negro rule.

Again, from the same paper:

The necessities of the State of Mississippi recall this injunction and give emphasis to the parallel—put none but Democrats in office.

We have gained a great victory—Bull Run or Chickamauga. Let us follow it up to the securing of results.

The white people must be welded into one compact organization. All differences of opinion, all personal aspirations, must be settled within our own organization, and from its decision there must be no appeal. Otherwise each recurring election produces its disorders.

[From the Meridian Mercury.]

Our correspondent at Running Water Mills makes his points well. His positions cannot successfully be contradicted. The miserable bunglers who have put the negro in the Constitution have certainly written themselves down asses all. When we accept "results of the war," we do not accept the notion of statesmen, but the blunders of unreasoning malice and stupidity, and of course we continue to accept it only so long as we are compelled to.

[From the Jackson Clarion.]

Appeal after appeal has been made in vain to the colored people. No more appeals will be made to them.

[From the Alabama Examiner.]

The present contest is, rather a revolution than a political campaign; it is the rebellion, if you see fit to apply that term.

[From the Forest Register.]

In this connection we will state that the white men who ally themselves with negroes in this conflict need not expect any better fate than they; fact is, they will be the first to suffer, if the Caucasians can find them at all when trouble comes.

In July, 1875, the Raymond Gazette, whose editor is now a member of the Legislature, and which is published only eight miles from Clinton, where the bloody riot of last September occurred, made this startling demand:

There are those who think that the leaders of the Radical party have carried this system of fraud and falsehood just far enough in Hinds county, and that the time has come when it should be stopped—peaceably if possible, forcibly if necessary. And to this end it is proposed that whenever a Radical pow-wow is to be held, the nearest anti-Radical club appoint a committee of ten discreet, intelligent, and reputable citizens, fully identified with the interests of the neighborhood and well known as men of veracity, to attend as representatives of the tax-payers of the neighborhood and the county, and true friends of the negroes assembled, and that whenever the Radical speakers proceed to mislead the negroes and open with falsehoods and deceptions and misrepresentations, the committee stop them right then and there, and compel them to tell truth or quit the stand.

The Clinton riot was the direct outgrowth of this demand. What follows? The same paper, of date July 26, 1876, shows that this vicious policy has been renewed in Hinds county, as follows:

DEMOCRATIC CENSORS.

The county executive committee of the Democrats and conservatives of Hinds county held a meeting at Raymond the other day, at which, on motion, it was ordered that each club in the county appoint a special committee, whose business it shall be to attend any and every Radical meeting held in its vicinity, and that each of said committees shall report to its own club and to this executive committee the action, attendance, and general tone and temper of said meeting.

A SYSTEM OF COERCION.

A very general system of coercion was adopted throughout the South by Democratic clubs and associations agreeing not to employ negroes who voted the Republican ticket, not to lease them lands, nor to furnish them with or allow them to obtain for themselves any means of subsistence.

The proofs of this are overwhelming. I read from the Chickasaw Messenger, a communication from Buena Vista, Mississippi:



BUENA VISTA, MISS., *January 1, 1876.*

EDITOR MESSENGER: The following list comprises the freedmen that have been reported by the members of the Buena Vista Democratic conservative club as the one-third that would be refused to recontract for the year 1876. You are requested by the club to publish their names in the Messenger.

Respectfully, yours,

C. A. M. PULLIMAN,

Secretary Buena Vista Dem. Con. Club.

"Fred Crow, Frank Williams, Dary Holliman, John Doss, Wade Pulliam, Calvin Gladney, Joe Moore, Henry Johnson, Anderson Williams, Ed. Bramlett, John Pulliam, Ben Valliant, Gay Brand, Wash Chandler, Jake Walker, Henry Woodard, Lawson Pulliam, W. Huddlestone, Martin Pulliam, Ed. Kyle, Calvin Gray, John Buchanan, Dan. Punds, Albert Conor, Ed. Nathan, Jim Pulliam, Simon Baskin, Bill Pulliam, George Gates, J. Featherstone, Shadi Love, Hilliard Fields.

"We are not familiar with the names of all the leading darkies in Buena Vista, but it occurs to us that many of them do not appear upon the list sent to us. We may not understand aright the action of the Buena Vista club, but our impression was that one-third of the laborers were to be discharged, and that one-third should include such turbulent, vicious rascals as Fred McIntosh, Prince Huddlestone, and others who once held high carnival in that section. Let us have no 'whipping the devil around the stump,' friends, but let us carry our pledges both in spirit and letter."

HOUSTON, *January, 1876.*

Pursuant to a call of the president, the club met at the court-house at eleven o'clock a. m., W. S. Bates presiding.

On motion of Captain Frank Burkitt, the following resolutions were read:

1. That we solemnly declare our purpose to stand to and abide by our pledges made during the canvass, and that we will hold in utter detestation any man claiming to be a Conservative Democrat who by any equivocations shall in the least violate the sacred promises made by us previous to the election, either as a club or as individuals.

2. That at no time and under no circumstances will we employ those who are regarded as leaders in the Radical party.

3. That we will not employ any laborer who has been discharged by any member of our club because of his past political course.

4. That the members of this club are requested to send into the secretary the names of all persons turned off by them under the above resolutions, and that the executive committee of the county is requested to publish their names.

5. That every other club in the county is requested to take like action.

6. That our papers are requested to publish these resolutions and the names of persons sent to them by the executive committee.

7. That colored men are invited to join this club.

8. That this club meet the first Saturday in each month.

J. B. GLADNEY, *Secretary.*

[From the Okolona (Mississippi) States, November 18, 1875.]

The Radical party of Mississippi contend that intimidation won the White Line victory. It is not the first time, neither will it be the last time in which *intimidation has been successfully used.* The white men have been intimidated in times past, and we wonder which has the best of the bargain. We are so situated that we are obliged to fight the devil with fire. Let the white men not be afraid to intimidate evil-doers. *Intimidation is legitimate, perfectly legitimate.*

Ex-Governor Benjamin G. Humphries, of Mississippi, made a speech at a reunion of the Thirteenth Mississippi Confederate In-

fantry, at Meridian, on the 22d of November, 1875, in which he said:

*We have surrendered none of our convictions and still claim the right of vindication.* In looking back at our past actions and motives, and the wrongs we have suffered and are still suffering, we confess that we have no regrets for the choice we made between the "higher-law" license of majorities in the Union and the sacred security of self-government in the States, between the Federal and Confederate governments. We are not conscious of a solitary dereliction of duty, either as citizens or soldiers, and feel that truth, reason, and religion exculpate us from wrongdoing. We know we were right, and though crushed to earth we should ever remember, and teach our children to remember, our cause was just! We are still proud of the cause and glory in the fight we made.

After the election, the Meridian Mercury, of November 20, 1875, says:

We have to contend with the blunder of the fifteenth amendment while it stands as best we can. Ridiculous appeals to the reason and judgment of the negro have been the cause of incalculable injury in the inflation of his vanity and making him believe he was of real consequence as a governing element in the body-politic. Now that the negro in this State is down and his personal self-conceit well knocked out of him, it is probably a fit time for the white people to impress upon him that the white people will in future control the politics of this State, and that he should keep himself in his proper sphere and leave to the intelligent white man the exclusive use of statecraft for the best interest of both races. Impress him continually with the idea of his unfitness for the ballot and his proper place on election day away from the polls.

[Here the hammer fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. SAVAGE. I move that his time be extended.

Mr. HALE. I hope that another hour may be given him.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be the effect of an indefinite extension, to which the Chair hears no objection.

Mr. GARFIELD. I could fill many columns of our RECORD with evidences like those above quoted from the gentleman's own State. In the light of this testimony, is it possible for us to believe that the transformation had occurred in the gentleman's own State in the election of that Legislature that made him a Senator?

If the testimony of the Democratic press of Mississippi is to be credited, the late election in the State of Mississippi was tainted with fraud and managed by intimidation unparalleled by anything in our recent political history. Let the gentleman explain this striking fact: There are many thousand more colored than white voters in the State of Mississippi. In the election of 1873 the Republican party had 22,976 majority; in the election last autumn the Democratic party had a majority of 30,922. How came this change of more than 53,000 in the short space of two years, if there was a free and uncoerced vote of the electors of that State?

The President of the United States has sent

to the Senate a letter addressed by him to Governor Chamberlain, under date of July 26, 1876, from which I read a few words of high official authority bearing upon the point I am now discussing. He says:

The scene at Hamburg, as cruel, blood-thirsty, wanton, unprovoked, and as uncalled for as it was, is only a repetition of the course that has been pursued in other Southern States within the last few years, notably in Mississippi and Louisiana. Mississippi is governed to-day by officials chosen through fraud and violence such as would scarcely be accredited to savages, much less to a civilized and Christian people. How long these things are to continue or what is to be the final remedy the Great Ruler of the universe only knows; but I have an abiding faith that the remedy will come, and come speedily, and I earnestly hope that it will come peacefully. There has never been a desire on the part of the North to humiliate the South. Nothing is claimed for one State that is not freely accorded to all others, unless it may be the right to kill negroes and Republicans without fear of punishment and without loss of caste or reputation. This has seemed to be a privilege claimed by a few States.

But it is aside from my purpose to go into the question of the validity of the late election in Mississippi. That subject is being investigated by a committee of the Senate, and I shall be surprised if, from the evidence they have taken, they do not concur in the opinion I have expressed. I desire gentlemen to remember that the great question I am discussing is, had the great transformation taken place among the gentleman's constituents in the late autumn of 1875?

The answer of his own people is overwhelmingly in the negative.

I now ask, had the transformation occurred in the winter and spring of the present year?

I hold in my hand the report of an address of Rev. Taylor Martin, of Charlotte, North Carolina, the town to which Congress lately gave a mint building to be used for school purposes. The address was made on Decoration Day, May 5, 1876. I quote:

The South is to-day ruled over by the miserable thrall of Yankeeedom; but they cannot muzzle our chivalry and patriotic devotion to the "lost cause." We have fought for our rights, but in God's dispensation we are vanquished, but not cowed. Slavery was a divine institution, and we must have that institution or the South will ever be bankrupt. They speak of our cause as the "lost cause." If so, shall it be lost forever? No! A new generation has sprung up, and at a not far distant day there will be "stars and bars" floating proudly over our sunny South. In the next political campaign we must, even if in the minority, support a Southern man who will build up our interests and hurl the Yankee pick pockets from our midst. We are to-day united to the puritanical host by an artificial tie; but we are a distinct people, and God and the right will enable us to show to the world the truth and the equity of our claims. Our statesmen now in Congress are the cream of the body, and are the only element that reflects credit on the United States. Is it not better to hang on to the "lost cause" than to stay in a government of corruption?

Mr. YEATES. With the consent of the gentleman from Ohio, I want to state that I

have seen under the signature of the gentleman from whom he has just quoted a statement denying *in toto* every word of what has just been read; and a number of gentlemen who heard the speech certify that the quotation is false in every particular.

Mr. GARFIELD. If that be the fact I will cheerfully strike the extract from my speech. I never before heard it authentically denied.

Mr. YEATES. There is no doubt of the correctness of my statement.

Mr. GARFIELD. Let the extract and the denial stand together. But, sir, I will quote a recent utterance of public opinion, the authenticity of which I am quite sure no gentleman will deny. They will neither deny the ability nor the prominence of Robert Toombs, of Georgia, formerly a Senator and a Secretary of the Treasury. On the 25th of January, 1876, he addressed the Legislature of Georgia by invitation; and the following extract from that speech will show how far the transformation has taken place in him and his followers:

We got a good many honest fellows into the first Legislature, but I will tell you how we got them there. I will tell you the truth. The newspapers won't tell it to you. We got them there by carrying the black vote by intimidation and bribery, and I helped to do it; I would have scorned the people if they had not done it! And I will buy them as long as they put beasts to go to the ballot-box! No man should be given the elective franchise who has not the intelligence to use it properly. The rogue should not have it, for government is made to punish him; the fool should not have it, for government is made to take care of him! Now, these miserable wretches—the Yankees—have injected five millions of savages into the stomach of our body-politic, and the man who says he accepts negro suffrage, I say, accursed be he! I will accept everything; I will accept Grant and empire before I will accept such a Democrat! The poor, ignorant negro—talk of him governing you and me! It takes the highest order of intellect to govern the people, and these poor wretches talk of governing us! Why, they can't perpetuate their own negro power. In the counties where they were in the majority they did not preserve their power and perpetuate their rule. My remedy helped us to break that up. We carried them with us by bribery and intimidation. I advised it and paid my money for it! You all know it, but won't say it. But I will say it, for I fear no man, and am prepared to render an account to none but the Great Judge, before whom I must appear in a few years, for my enemies have thought my services to the country so great that they have done me the honor to exclude me from again serving my people. I contest that honor with our chief, Mr. Davis. I am just as good as he is, and he is no better than I am. I demand that they shall place me beside him. I thank them for it. It is very few things that I have to thank them for, but I do thank them for that.

In view of the testimony I have offered, we must wait for an answer to the question, when and where did the transformation occur? It occurred long ago in the philosophical and patriotic heart and mind of the gentleman from Mississippi; but has it occurred in the majority of the eleven millions who joined with him to destroy the Union, to



perpetuate slavery, to defend the cause that is now "lost?"

Had it occurred last week in the town of Meridian, in the gentleman's own State? I quote from the Meridian Mercury of July 29, 1876:

We heard LAMAR'S Scooba speech, and while his truth to his beloved South, perhaps, flamed out a little more than common, we remarked nothing inconsistent with his other speeches we had heard or read of. The morning of his arrival here the Mercury contained a sharp fling at him about the Sumner oration, and that night, at the court-house, he ventured to chastise us sharply for it in the house of our friends, and was boisterously applauded. We consoled ourself that the applause might have been more in compliment to the excellence of the oratory than in satisfaction at our castigation. We had our revenge, though, in taking which we inaugurated the policy of the canvass in spite of him which carried the State like a prairie on fire. He and others who wanted to dress up in a nice starched and ironed white shirt that would shame the bloody shirt, established a laundry at Jackson on the 4th of August, and a great many patronized it and came out in snowy white fronts to present themselves creditably before the Northern public sentiment. In their party pow-wow of that day, disregarding the deep under-current of public opinion, they declared by formal resolution against the White Line policy.

The Mercury had sounded the depths of that under-current, and we knew it would not do. In heart we felt with the platform, but our judgment assured us that the canvass must be lost on it, and that to practice it was a fatal error. We denounced the platform upon the instant, and took what care we could that LAMAR'S speeches upon his national reputation should not ruin our canvass. We called upon the people to "step across the platform" which denamed it, and form the White Line beyond it. The summons was music to their ears, and the unconquered and unconquerable Saxon race of Mississippi rallied to the slogan.

\* \* \* \* \*  
We have got the State; we know how we got it; we know to keep it; and we are going to keep it without regard to race or numerical majority.

Mr. Chairman, after the facts I have cited, am I not warranted in raising a grave doubt whether the transformation occurred at all except in a few patriotic and philosophic minds? The light gleams first on the mountain peaks; but shadows and darkness linger in the valley. It is in the valley masses of those lately in rebellion that the light of this beautiful philosophy, which I honor, has not penetrated. Is it safer to withhold from them the custody and supreme control of the precious treasures of the Republic until the midday sun of liberty, justice, and equal laws shall shine upon them with unclouded ray?

In view of all the facts, considering the centuries of influence that brought on the great struggle, is it not reasonable to suppose that it will require yet more time to effect the great transformation. Did not the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. GEORGE F. HOAR] sum up the case fairly and truthfully when he said of the South, in his Louisiana report of 1874:

They submitted to the national authority, not because they would, but because they must. They abandoned the doctrine of State sovereignty, which they had claimed made their duty to their States paramount to that due to the nation in case of conflict, not because they would, but because they must. They submitted to the constitutional amendments which rendered their former slaves their equals in all political rights, not because they would, but because they must. The passions which led to the war the passions which the war excited, were left untamed and unchecked, except so far as their exhibition was restrained by the arm of power.

The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. LAMAR] says there is no possibility that the South will again control national affairs, if the Democracy be placed again in power. How is this? We are told that the South will vote as a unit for Tilden and Hendricks. Suppose those gentlemen also carry New York and Indiana. Does the gentleman believe that a Northern minority of the Democracy will control the Administration? Impossible. But if they did, would it better the case?

Let me put the question in another form. Suppose, gentlemen of the South, you had won the victory in the war; that you had captured Washington, and Gettysburg, and Philadelphia, and New York; and we of the North, defeated and conquered, had lain prostrate at your feet. Do you believe that by this time you would be ready and willing to intrust to us—our Garrisons, our Phillipses, and our Wades, and the great array of those who were the leaders of our thought—to intrust to us the fruits of your victory, the enforcement of your doctrines of State sovereignty and the work of extending the domain of slavery? Do you think so? And if not, will you not pardon us when we tell you that we are not quite ready to trust the precious results of the nation's victory in your hands? Let it be constantly borne in mind that I am not debating a question of equal rights and privileges within the Union, but whether those who so lately sought to destroy it ought to be chosen to control its destiny for the next four years.

I hope my public life has given proof that I do not cherish a spirit of malice or bitterness toward the South. Perhaps they will say I have no right to advise them; but at the risk of being considered impertinent I will express my conviction that the bane of the Southern people, for the last twenty five years, has been that they have trusted the advice of the Democratic party. The very remedy which the gentleman from Mississippi offers for the ills of his people has been and still is their bane. The Democratic party has been the evil genius of the South in all these years. They yielded their own consciences to you on the slavery question, and led you to believe that the North would always yield. They made you believe we would not fight to save the Union. They made you believe that if we ever dared to

cross the Potomac or the Ohio to put down your rebellion we could only do so across the dead bodies of many hundred thousands of Northern Democrats. They made you believe that the war would begin in the streets of our Northern cities; that we were a community of shop-keepers, of sordid money-getters, and would not stand against your fiery chivalry. You thought us cold, slow, lethargic; and in some respects we are. There are some differences between us that spring from origin and influences of climate; differences not unlike the description of the poet, that—

Bright and fierce and fickle is the South;  
And dark and true and tender is the North;  
differences that kept us from a good understanding.

You thought that our coldness, our slowness, indicated a lack of spirit and of patriotism, and you were encouraged in that belief by most of the Northern Democracy; but not by all. They warned you at Charleston in 1860.

And when the great hour struck, there were many noble Democrats in the North who lifted the flag of the Union far above the flag of party; but there was a residuum of Democracy, called in the slang of the time "Copperheads," who were your evil genius from the beginning of the war till its close, and ever since. Some of them sat in these seats, and never rejoiced when we won a victory, and never grieved when we lost one. They were the men who sent their Vallandighams to give counsel and encouragement to your rebellion and to buoy you up with false hope, that at last you would conquer by the aid of their treachery. I honor you, gentlemen of the South, ten thousand times more than I honor such Democrats of the North.

I said they were your evil genius. Why, in 1864, when we were almost at the culminating point of the war, their Vallandighams and Tildens (and both of these men were on the committee of resolutions) uttered the declaration, as the voice of the Democracy, that the experiment of war to preserve the Union was a failure, and that hostilities should cease. They asked us to sound the recall on our bugles; to call our conquering armies back from the contest, and trust to their machinations to save their party at the expense of a broken and ruined country. Brave soldiers of the lost cause, did you not, even in that hour of peril, in your heart of hearts, loathe them with supremest scorn? But for their treachery at Chicago the war might have ended and a hundred thousand precious lives been saved. But your evil genius pursued you, and the war went on. And later, when you would have accepted the constitutional amendment and restoration without universal suffrage the same evil genius held you back. In 1868 it still deceived you. In 1872 it led you into

A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog  
Betwixt Damiatra and Mount Casius old,  
Where armies whole have sunk.

Let not the eloquence of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. LAMAR] lure you again to its brink.

Mr. Chairman, it is now time to inquire as to the fitness of this Democratic party to take control of our great nation and its vast and important interests for the next four years. I put the question to the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. LAMAR] what has the Democratic party done to merit that great trust? He tried to show in what respects it would not be dangerous. I ask him to show in what it would be safe. I affirm, and I believe I do not misrepresent the great Democratic party, that in the last sixteen years they have not advanced one great national idea that is not to-day exploded and as dead as Julius Cæsar. And if any Democrat here will rise and name a great national doctrine his party has advanced, within that time, that is now alive and believed in, I will yield to hear him. [A pause.] In default of an answer I will attempt to prove my negative.

What were the great central doctrines of the Democratic party in the Presidential struggle of 1860? The followers of Breckinridge said slavery had a right to go wherever the Constitution goes. Do you believe that to-day? Is there a man on this continent who holds that doctrine to-day? Not one. That doctrine is dead and buried. The other wing of the Democracy held that slavery might be established in the Territories if the people wanted it. Does anybody hold that doctrine to-day? Dead, absolutely dead.

Come down to 1864. Your party, under the lead of Tilden and Vallandigham, declared the experiment of war to save the Union was a failure. Do you believe that doctrine to-day? That doctrine was shot to death by the guns of Farragut at Mobile, and driven, in a tempest of fire, from the valley of the Shenandoah, by Sheridan, less than a month after its birth at Chicago.

Come down to 1868. You declared the constitutional amendment revolutionary and void. Does any man on this floor say so to-day? If so, let him rise and declare it.

Do you believe in the doctrine of the Broadhead letter of 1868, that the so-called constitutional amendments should be disregarded? No; the gentleman from Mississippi accepts the results of the war! The Democratic doctrine of 1868 is dead!

I walk across that Democratic camping-ground as in a grave-yard. Under my feet resound the hollow echoes of the dead. There lies slavery, a black marble column at the head of its grave, on which I read: Died in the flames of the civil war; loved in its life; lamented in its death; followed to its bier by its only mourner, the Democratic party, but dead! And here is a double grave: Sacred to the memory of squatter



sovereignty. Died in the campaign of 1860. On the reverse side: Sacred to the memory of Dred Scott and the Breckinridge doctrine. Both dead at the hands of Abraham Lincoln. And here a monument of brimstone: Sacred to the memory of the rebellion; the war against it is a failure; *Tilden et Vallandigham fecerunt*, A. D. 1864. Dead on the field of battle; shot to death by the million guns of the Republic. The doctrine of secession; of State sovereignty. Dead. Expired in the flames of civil war, amid the blazing rafters of the Confederacy, except that the modern Æneas, fleeing out of the flames of that ruin, bears on his back another Anchises of State sovereignty, and brings it here in the person of the honorable gentleman from the Appomattox district of Virginia, [Mr. TUCKER.] [Laughter.] All else is dead.

Now, gentlemen, are you sad, are you sorry for these deaths? Are you not glad that secession is dead? that slavery is dead? that squatter sovereignty is dead? that the doctrine of the failure of the war is dead? Then you are glad that you were outvoted in 1860, in 1864, in 1868, and in 1872. If you have tears to shed over these losses, shed them in the grave-yard, but not in this House of living men. I know that many a Southern man rejoices that these issues are dead. The gentleman from Mississippi has clothed his joy with eloquence.

Now, gentlemen, if you yourselves are glad that you have suffered defeat during the last sixteen years, will you not be equally glad when you suffer defeat next November? [Laughter.] But pardon that remark; I regret it; I would use no bravado.

Now, gentlemen, come with me for a moment into the camp of the Republican party and review its career. Our central doctrine in 1860 was that slavery should never extend itself over another foot of American soil. Is that doctrine dead? It is folded away like a victorious banner; its truth is alive forevermore on this continent. In 1864 we declared that we would put down the rebellion and secession. And that doctrine lives and will live when the second Centennial has arrived! Freedom, national, universal, and perpetual—our great constitutional amendments, are they alive or dead? Alive, thank the God that shields both liberty and Union. And our national credit, saved from the assaults of Pendleton; saved from the assaults of those who struck it later, rising higher and higher at home and abroad; and only now in doubt lest its chief, its only enemy, the Democracy, should triumph in November.

Mr. Chairman, ought the Republican party to surrender its truncheon of command to the Democracy? The gentleman from Mississippi says, if this were England the Ministry would go out in twenty-four hours with such a state of things as we have here. Ah, yes! that is an ordinary case of change of adminis-

tration. But if this were England what would she have done at the end of the war? England made one such mistake as the gentleman asks this country to make when she threw away the achievements of the grandest man that ever trod her highway of power. Oliver Cromwell had overturned the throne of despotic power and had lifted his country to a place of masterful greatness among the nations of the earth; and when, after his death, his great scepter was transferred to a weak, though not unlineal, hand, his country, in a moment of reactionary blindness, brought back the Stuarts. England did not recover from that folly until, in 1689, the Prince of Orange drove from her island the last of that weak and wicked line. Did she afterward repeat the blunder?

For more than fifty years pretenders were seeking the throne, and the wars on her coast, in Scotland and in Ireland, threatened the overthrow of the new dynasty and the disruption of the empire. But the solid phlegm, the magnificent pluck, the round-about common sense of Englishmen steadied the throne till the cause of the Stuarts was dead. They did not change as soon as the battle was over and let the Stuarts come back to power.

And how was it in our own country when our fathers had triumphed in the war of the Revolution? When the victory was won, did they open their arms to the loyalists, as they called themselves, or tories, as our fathers called them? Did they invite them back? Not one. They confiscated their lands. The States passed decrees that no tory should live on our soil. And when they were too poor to take themselves away, our fathers, burdened as the young nation was with debt, raised the money to transport the tories beyond seas or across the Canada border. They went to England, to France, to Nova Scotia, to New Brunswick, and especially to Halifax; and that town was such a resort for them that it became the swear-word of our boyhood. "Go to Halifax" was a substitute for a more impious, but not more opprobrious expression. The presence of tories made it opprobrious.

Now I do not refer to this as an example which we ought to follow. O, no. We live in a milder era, in an age softened by the more genial influence of Christian civilization. Witness the sixty-one men who fought against us in the late war, and who are now sitting in this and the other Chamber of Congress. Every one of them is here because a magnanimous nation freely voted that they might come; and they are welcome. Only please do not say that you are just now especially fitted to rule the Republic, and to be the apostles of liberty and of blessings to the colored race.

Gentlemen, the North has been asked, these many years, to regard the sensibilities of the South. We have been told that you

were brave and sensitive men, and that we ought not to throw fire-brands among you. Most of our people have treated you with justice and magnanimity. In some things we have given you just cause for complaint; but I want to remind you that the North also has sensibilities to be regarded. The ideas which they cherish and for which they fought triumphed in the highest court, the court of last resort, the field of battle. Our people intend to abide by that verdict and to enforce the mandate. They rejoice at every evidence of acquiescence. They look forward to the day when the distinctions of North and South shall have melted away in the grander sentiment of nationality. But they do not think it is yet safe to place the control of this great work in your hands. In the hands of some of you they would be safe, perfectly safe; but to the hands of the united South, joined with the most reactionary elements of the Northern Democracy, our people will not yet surrender the Government.

I am aware that there is a general disposition "to let by-gones be by-gones," and to judge of parties and of men, not by what they have been, but by what they are and what they propose.

That view is partly just and partly erroneous. It is just and wise to bury resentments and animosities. It is erroneous in this, that parties have an organic life and spirit of their own—an individuality and character which outlive the men who compose them; and the spirit and traditions of a party should be considered in determining their fitness for managing the affairs of a nation. For this purpose I have reviewed the history of the Democratic party.

I have no disposition nor would it be just to shield the Republican party from fair and searching criticism. It has been called to meet questions novel and most difficult. It has made many mistakes. It has stumbled and blundered; has had some bad men in it; has suffered from the corruptions incident to the period following a great war; and it has suffered rebuke and partial defeat in consequence. But has it been singular and alone in these respects? With all its faults, I fearlessly challenge gentlemen to compare it with any party known to our politics. Has the gentleman shown that the Democratic party is its superior either in virtue or intelligence? Gentlemen, the country has been testing your qualities during the last eight months. The people gave you a probationary trial by putting you in control of this House. When you came here, in December last, the same distinguished gentleman to whom I am replying addressed you on the evening of your first caucus in these words:

There has been for some time in the public mind a conviction profound and all-pervading that the civil service of the country has not been directed from considerations of public good, but from those of party profit, and for

corrupt, selfish, and unpatriotic designs. The people demand at our hands a sweeping and thorough reform, which shall be conducted in a spirit that will secure the appointment to places of trust and responsibility of the honest, the experienced, and the capable.

That is sound doctrine; and I have advocated it here and elsewhere during the last eight years. I remind him that the pernicious doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils," is of Democratic origin; that nearly half a century of Democratic tradition and practice has fastened it upon the country. We found it, and have been cursed by it ever since; and though some efforts have been made to reform it, the good work is hardly begun. When, therefore, the gentleman from Mississippi, [Mr. LAMAR,] as chairman of the Democratic caucus, at the opening of the session, announced the doctrine I have quoted, we had reason to hope that a new era of civil service had dawned upon the Capitol. But what performance has followed his high-sounding proclamation? No sooner did this reforming party take possession of this House than it began the most wholesale, sweeping changes of officials, from the highest to the humblest employees of the House, that has been known in our history. Many of these officers had come to us from our Democratic predecessors; but they were almost all dismissed to give place to hungry partisans. Sixty-seven Union soldiers, who were faithfully doing their duties here, were turned out, and among those who filled their places were forty-seven rebel soldiers.

Mr. WILLIS. May I inquire how many Union soldiers were put in office?

Mr. GARFIELD. I do not know the precise number.

Mr. WILLIS. If the gentleman will institute a comparison he will find that it is decidedly favorable to the Democratic party so far as patriotism and favoritism to Union soldiers is concerned.

Mr. GARFIELD. The facts do not bear the gentleman out in his statement. This is the practice which followed your professions of civil-service reform.

Mr. HOLMAN. As a matter of justice and fair play the gentleman from Ohio certainly knows and should admit that a large number of disabled soldiers who are Republicans are still holding offices in this House.

Mr. CONGER. I object to the gentleman from Indiana interrupting the gentleman from Ohio. Let the gentlemen opposite give our side an opportunity to be heard for once.

Mr. GARFIELD. I am almost through, and will soon yield the floor.

In answer to the gentleman from Indiana, I understand that a considerable number of Democratic Union soldiers were appointed; but I was discussing civil-service reform and the declaration of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. LAMAR] that appointments to office should not be used as party rewards.



I desire to glance for a moment now at the career of this House and at what they have done and omitted to do. Passing by their treatment of contested-election cases, their appointment of officers, employes, and committee-clerks who have reflected no credit upon the House, I desire to ask what valuable work of general legislation has this House accomplished?

We had hardly been here a month, when, among the first things demanded was that in disregard of the deep feelings of the Northern people, it was proposed to crown Jefferson Davis with full and free amnesty, notwithstanding he had contemptuously declared he never would ask for it; and this was to be done, or no amnesty was to be granted to any one. And when we objected because he was the author of the unutterable atrocities of Libby and Andersonville prisons, the debate which followed disclosed the spirit and temper of the dominant party.

We were hardly in our seats when the gentlemen from Virginia [Mr. TUCKER] brought in a bill to repeal a statute of 1866 which no Democrat had before that proposed to disturb, so far as I know; a statute which provided that no man who voluntarily went into the rebellion against the Union should ever hold a commission in our Army or Navy. And a Democrat from my own State, [Mr. BANNING,] the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, became the champion of that bill; and this House passed it.

Again, we had passed a law to protect the sanctity and safety of the ballot in national elections, so that the horrors of the Ku-Klux and the white-linisms should not run riot at the polls, and among the earliest acts of this House was a clause added to one of the appropriation bills to repeal the election law; and to effect that repeal they kept up the struggle lately under the fierce rays of the dog-star. They have been compelled by a Republican Senate to abandon the attempt.

Again, what have they neglected? Early in the session, indeed in the first days of it, a proposition was made, introduced by the gentleman from Maine, [Mr. BLAINE,] so to amend the Constitution as to remove forever from the party politics of the country the vexed and dangerous question of church and state by preventing the use of the school funds for sectarian purposes. That amendment was sent to the Committee on the Judiciary to sleep, perhaps to die; for it is said to have been three times voted down in that committee.

Again, the Secretary of the Treasury officially informed us that his power was exhausted further to refund the debt; and that if we would give him the requisite authority he could refund four or five hundred millions more at so favorable a rate as to save to the Treasury at least 1 per cent. per annum of the whole amount. The Senate passed the bill more than six months ago, but this House has taken no action upon it.

Our revenues have been threatened with a deficit and our industries have been shaken with alarm by bills reported to the House but never been brought to a vote; for example, the tariff bill, floating lazily upon the stagnant waters of the House,

As idle as a painted ship  
Upon a painted ocean—

a promise to free-traders, a threat of danger to manufacturers, but with no prospect or purpose of acting upon it.

And the Government has been crippled by the withholding of necessary appropriations; withheld, as I do not hesitate to say, for the purpose of making political capital at the coming election, in which the gentleman from Mississippi desires his party to succeed in the name of honesty and reform. His colleague was frank enough to declare that he wanted to reduce the general appropriations, so as to have money enough to devote to some scheme for his section, such as the cotton claims and the Southern Pacific railroad.

But party necessity has held many waiting schemes and claims in leash. They are anchored in the lobbies and committee-rooms of this House, till the election is over. There is the bill to refund the cotton tax to the amount of \$10,000,000, waiting to be launched, when the election is over. A subsidy of a hundred millions upstairs (Pacific railroad committee-room) is waiting to come down upon us for the Southern Pacific railroad, when the election is over. There are \$38,000,000 of private claims, Southern claims, war claims, waiting to burst up from the committee-rooms below stairs, when the election is over.

While these things surround us; while the very earth shakes with the tramp of the advancing army of schemers, who are coming "with the Constitution and an appropriation," the gentleman from Mississippi thinks that as a measure of reform the Democratic party ought at once to be brought back into power!

Meanwhile what has been the chief employment of this House? It has divided itself in a score of police courts, in the hope of finding corruption. Like those insects that feed upon sores, it has hoped to live and thrive upon the corruption of others. Like that scavenger of the air, the carrion bird that buries its beak in the rotten carcass, so the Democratic party seeks to fatten on the refuse which is here and there thrown out of the public service.

This House has adopted eighty-three resolutions of investigation, besides a legion of resolutions of inquiry of the several Departments. Twenty-five standing committees, and eight select committees, up to the 20th of June, in all thirty-three committees, have been raking all the slums of the nation, to find, if possible, some savory morsel with which to impregnate the air during the coming election.

And what have they found? Has any one of these committees found that a single dollar has been stolen from the Treasury of the United States? If so, let them declare it. Why, sir, the Republican party for the last three years has been investigating its own Administration far more effectually than you have investigated it. It has had not only the courage of its opinions, but the courage to punish its own rascals.

But, gentlemen, after all that may be said of corruptions and wrong-doing, do you show, on that ground, any good reason why the Republican party should surrender the Government to the Democracy? Would it be better? It is a matter of official record that the Treasury suffered a far greater percentage of loss, by mismanagement and defalcation, under your administration than it has suffered under ours.

In an official letter to the Senate, under date of June 19, 1876, the Secretary of the Treasury copies from his records the aggregate losses by defalcations and the loss per \$1,000 in each period of four years since 1834 in all the Departments and Bureaus of the Government. Without quoting the table at length, the grand aggregate stands thus:

From January 1, 1834, to July 1, 1861, the total disbursements of the Government were \$1,369,977,502.52; the total defalcations were \$12,361,722.91; or a loss of \$9.02 to the \$1,000.

From July 1, 1861, to July 1, 1875, the total disbursements were \$12,566,892,569.53; the total defalcations were \$9,905,205.37; or a loss of twenty-six cents to the \$1,000. In the latter period the disbursements were nearly ten times as great as in the former, and the defalcations one-third less.

Is this country so given over to corruption as the gentleman from Mississippi suggests? I will answer by quoting two distinguished witnesses. In his able speech on the impeachment trial, one of the Democratic managers, the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Lord,] said:

Senators, I am one of those who believe in progress. I believe that this age is the best age which the sun has ever shone upon; I believe there is more of religion, more of humanity, more of love, more of charity in this age than in any age that has preceded it. \* \*

There is now a higher and healthier sentiment than in any former age. Men are held to official responsibilities now, thank God, that they never were before. The time has been in the recollection of many of you when a person thought he had the right to use his official position for his own advantage; but that time has gone by, and a good deal of what we see and hear which leads a great many so mournfully to say that the age is going backward and we are receding to barbarism, very much which occasions the apparent increase of wrongs arises from the higher demands of a greater civilization, from the higher plane of an enlightened people.

Now, I ask the Clerk to read a paragraph which I have marked from the centennial address of Rev. Dr. Storrs, a man fit to be the teacher of his race.

The Clerk read as follows:

I scout the thought that we as a people are worse than our fathers. John Adams, at the

head of the War Department in 1776, wrote bitter laments of the corruption which existed in even that infant age of the Republic, and of the spirit of venality, rapacious and insatiable, which was then the most alarming enemy of America. He declared himself ashamed of the age in which he lived. In Jefferson's day all Federalists expected the universal dominion of French infidelity. In Jackson's day all Whigs thought the country gone to ruin already, as if Mr. Biddle had had the entire public hope locked up in the vaults of his terminated bank. In Polk's day the excitement of the Mexican war gave life and germination to many seeds of rascality. There has never been a time, not here alone, in any country, when the fierce light of incessant inquiry blazing on men in public life would not have revealed forces of evil like those we have seen or when the condemnation which followed the discovery would have been sharper. And it is among my deepest convictions that, with all which has happened to debase and debauch it, the nation at large was never before more mentally vigorous or morally sound.

Mr. GARFIELD. Now, Mr. Chairman, after all the fearful corruption of his time described by John Adams, our fathers never thought it necessary to call the Tories back to take charge of their newly gained liberties.

I will close by calling your attention again to the great problem before us. Over this vast horizon of interests North and South, above all party prejudices and personal wrong-doing, above our battle hosts and our victorious cause, above all that we hoped for and won, and you hoped for and lost, is the grand, onward movement of the Republic to perpetuate its glory, to save liberty alive, to preserve exact and equal justice to all, to protect and foster all these priceless principles, until they shall have crystallized into the form of enduring law and become wrought into the life and the habits of our people.

And, until these great results are accomplished, it is not safe to take one step backward. It is still more unsafe to trust interests of such measureless value in the hands of an organization whose members have never comprehended their epoch, have never been in sympathy with its great movements, who have resisted every step of its progress, and whose principal function has been

To lie in cold obstruction  
across the pathway of the nation.

It is most unsafe of all to trust that organization when, for the first time since the war, it puts forward for the first and second place of honor and command, men who, in our days of greatest danger, esteemed party above country, and felt not one throb of patriotic ardor for the triumph of the imperiled Union, but from the beginning to the end hated the war and hated those who carried our eagles to victory.

No, no, gentlemen; our enlightened and patriotic people will not follow such leaders in the rearward march. Their myriad faces are turned the other way; and along their serried lines still rings the cheering cry, "Forward! till our great work is fully and worthily done." [Loud and continued applause.]



## Revival of State Sovereignty in Congress.

### SPEECH

OF

# HON. JAMES A GARFIELD,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

JUNE 27, 1879.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the Marshals' appropriation bill, June 27, 1879—

Mr. GARFIELD said :

Mr. Chairman, "to this favor" it has come at last. The great fleet that set out on the 18th of March, with all its freightage and armament, is so shattered that now all the valuables it carried are embarked in this little craft to meet whatever fate the sea and the storm may offer. This little bill contains the residuum of almost everything that has been the subject of controversy at the present session. I will not discuss it in detail, but will speak only of its central feature, and especially of the opinions which the discussion of that feature has brought to the surface during the present session. The majority in this Congress have adopted what I consider very extreme and dangerous opinions on certain important constitutional questions. They have not only drifted back to their old attitude on the subject of State sovereignty, but they have pushed that doctrine much further than most of their predecessors ever went before, except during the period immediately preceding the late war.

So extreme are some of these utterances that nothing short of actual quotations from the Record will do their authors justice. I therefore shall read several extracts from debates at the present session of Congress, and group them in the order of the topics discussed.

Senator Wallace (Congressional Record, June 3, pages 3 and 5) says :

The Federal Government has no voters; it can make none, it can constitutionally control none. \* \* \* When it asserts the power to create and hold "national elections" or to regulate the conduct of the voter on election day, or to maintain equal suffrage, it tramples under foot the very basis of the Federal system, and seeks to build a consolidated government from a democratic republic. This is the plain purpose of the men now in control of the Federal Government, and to this end the teachings of leading Republicans now are shaped.

There are no national voters. Voters who vote for national Representatives are qualified by State constitutions and State laws, and national citizenship is not required of a voter of the State by any provision of the Federal Constitution now in practice.

If there be such a thing, then, as a "national election," it wants the first element of an election—a national voter. The Federal Government, or (if it suits our friends on the other side better) the nation, has no voters. It cannot create them, it cannot qualify them.

Representative Clark, of Missouri, (Record, April 26, page 60,) says :

The United States has no voters.

Senator Maxey, Texas, (Record, April 21, page 72,) says :

It follows as surely as "grass grows and water runs" that, under our Constitution, the entire control of elections must be under the State whose voters assemble; whose right to vote is not drawn from the Constitution of the United States, but existed and was freely exercised long before its adoption.

Senator Williams, Kentucky, (Record, April 25, page 8,) says :

The legislatures of the States and the people of the several districts are the constituency of Senators and Representatives in Congress. They receive their commissions from the governor, and when they resign (which is very seldom) they send their resignations to the governor and not to the President. They are State officers and not Federal officers.

Senator Whyte (Record, May 21, page 14) says :

There are no elections of United States officers and no voters of the United States. The voters are voters of the States; they are the people of the States, and their members of the House of Representatives are chosen by the electors of the States to represent the people of the States, whose agents they are.

Mr. McLANE. Do I understand him to say that the Government of the United States has the right to keep the peace anywhere within a State? Do I understand him to say that there is any "peace of the United States" at all recognized by the Supreme Court of the United States?

Mr. ROBESON. Certainly I do.—(Record, April 4, page 14.)

Mr. McLane (Record, April 4, page 15) says :

I believe that the provision of law which we are about to repeal is unconstitutional; that is to say, that it is unconstitutional for the United States to "keep the peace" anywhere in the States, either at the polls or elsewhere; and if it were constitutional, I believe in common with gentlemen on this side of the House that it would be highly inexpedient to exercise that power.

\* \* \* \* \*  
When that law used the phrase "to keep the peace" it could only mean the peace of the States.

\* \* \* \* \*  
It is not a possible thing to have a breach of the United States peace at the polls.

Senator Whyte (Record, May 21, page 18) says :

Sovereignty is lodged with the States, where it had its home long before the Constitution was created. The Constitution is the creature of that sovereignty. The Federal Government has no inherent sovereignty. All its sovereign powers are drawn from the States.

The States were in existence long before the Union, and the latter took its birth from their power.

\* \* \* \* \*  
The State governments are supreme by inherent power originally conceded to them by the people to the control of local legislation and administration. The Federal Government has no part or lot in this vast mass of inherent sovereign power, and its interference therewith is utterly unwarrantable.

Senator Wallace (Record, June 3, pp. 3 and 4) says :

Thus we have every branch of the Federal Government, House, Senate, the executive and judicial departments, standing upon the State governments, and all resting finally upon the people of the States, qualified as voters by State constitutions and State laws.

Senator Whyte (Record, May 21, p. 15) says :

No, Mr. President, it never was declared that we were a nation.

\* \* \* \* \*  
In the formation and adoption of the Constitution the States were the factors.

These are the declarations of seven distinguished members of the present Congress. The doctrines set forth in the above quotations may be fairly regarded as the doctrines of the Democracy as represented in this Capitol.

Let me summarize them : First, there are no national elections ; second, the United States has no voters ; third, the States have the exclusive right to control elections of members of Congress ; fourth, the Senators and Representatives in Congress are State officers, or, as they have been called during the present session, "embassadors" or "agents" of the State ; fifth, the United States has no authority to keep the peace anywhere within a State, and, in fact, has no peace to keep ; sixth, the United States is not a nation endowed with sovereign power, but is a confederacy of States ; seventh, the States are sovereignties possessing inherent supreme powers ; they are older than the Union, and as independent sovereignties the State governments created the Union and determined and limited the powers of the General Government.

These declarations embody the sum total of the constitutional doctrines which the Democracy has avowed during the extra session of Congress. They form a body of doctrines which I do not hesitate to say are more extreme than was ever before held on this subject, except perhaps at the very crisis of secession and rebellion.

And they have not been put forth as abstract theories of government. True to the logic of their convictions, the majority have sought to put them in practice by affirmative acts of legislation.

Let me enumerate these attempts. First, they have denounced as unconstitutional all attempts of the United States to supervise, regulate, or protect national elections, and have tried to repeal all laws on the national statute-book enacted for that purpose. Second, following the advice given by Calhoun in his political testament to his party, they have tried to repeal all those por-



tions of the venerated judiciary act of 1789, the act of 1833 against nullification, the act of 1861, and the acts amendatory thereof, which provide for carrying to the Supreme Court of the United States all controversies that relate to the duties and authority of any officer acting under the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Third. They have attempted to prevent the President from enforcing the laws of the Union, by refusing necessary supplies and by forbidding the use of the army to suppress violent resistance to the laws, by which, if they had succeeded, they would have left the citizens and the authorities of the States free to obey or disobey the laws of the Union as they might choose.

This, I believe, Mr. Chairman, is a fair summary both of the principles and the attempted practice to which the majority of this House has treated the country during the extra session.

Before quitting this topic, it is worth while to notice the fact that the attempt made in one of the bills now pending in this House, to curtail the jurisdiction of the national courts, is in the direct line of the teachings of John C. Calhoun. In his "Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States," published by authority of the legislature of South Carolina in 1851, he sets forth at great length the doctrine that ours is not a national government, but a confederacy of sovereign States, and then proceeds to point out what he considers the dangerous departures which the government has made from his theory of the Constitution.

The first and most dangerous of these departures he declares to be the adoption of the twenty-fifth section of the judiciary act of 1789, by which appeals were authorized from the judgments of the supreme courts of the States to the Supreme Court of the United States. He declares that section of the act unconstitutional, because it makes the supreme court of a "sovereign" State subordinate to the judicial power of the United States; and he recommends his followers never to rest until they have repealed, not only that section, but also what he calls the still more dangerous law of 1833, which forbids the courts of the States to sit in judgment on the acts of an officer of the United States done in pursuance of national law. The present Congress has won the unenviable distinction of making the first attempt, since the death of Calhoun, to revive and put in practice his disorganizing and destructive theory of government.

Firmly believing that these doctrines and attempted practice of the present Congress are erroneous and pernicious, I will state briefly the counter propositions:

I affirm: First, that the Constitution of the United States was not created by the government of the States, but was ordained and established by the only sovereign in this country—the common superior of both the States and the nation—the people themselves; second, that the United States is a nation, having a government whose powers, as defined and limited by the Constitution, operate upon all the States in their corporate capacity and upon all the people; third, that by its legislative, executive and judicial authority, the nation is armed with adequate power to enforce all the provisions of the Constitution against all opposition of individuals or of States, at all times and all places within the Union.

These are broad propositions; and I take the few minutes remaining to defend them. The constitutional history of this country, or rather the history of sovereignty and government in this country, is comprised in four sharply defined epochs:

First. Prior to the 4th day of July, 1776, sovereignty, so far as it can be affirmed of this country, was lodged in the Crown of Great Britain. Every member of every colony (the colonists were not citizens but subjects) drew his legal rights from the Crown of Great Britain. "Every acre of land in this country was then held mediately or immediately by the grants from that Crown," and "all the civil authority then existing or exercised here, flowed from the head of the British Empire."

Second. On the 4th day of July, 1776, the people of these colonies, asserting their natural inherent right as sovereigns, withdrew the sovereignty from the Crown of Great Britain and reserved it to themselves. In so far as they delegated this national authority at all, they delegated it to the Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia. That Congress, by general consent, became the supreme government of the country—executive, judicial and legislative in

one. During the whole of its existence it wielded the supreme power of the new nation.

Third. On the 1st day of March, 1781, the same sovereign power, the people, withdrew the authority from the Continental Congress and lodged it, so far as they lodged it at all, with the Confederation, which though a league of States, was declared to be a perpetual union.

Fourth. When at last our fathers found the confederation too weak and inefficient for the purposes of a great nation, they abolished it and lodged the national authority, enlarged and strengthened by new powers, in the Constitution of the United States, where, in spite of all assaults it still remains. All these great acts were done by the only sovereign in this Republic, the people themselves.

That no one may charge that I pervert history to sustain my own theories, I call attention to the fact that not one of the colonies declared itself free and independent. Neither Virginia nor Massachusetts threw off its allegiance to the British Crown as a colony. The great declaration was made not even by all the colonies, as colonies, but it was made in the name and by authority of "all the good people of the colonies" as one people.

Let me fortify this position by a great name that will shine forever in the constellation of our Southern sky—the name of Charles Coatsworth Pinckney, of South Carolina. He was a leading member of the constitutional convention of 1787 and also a member of the convention of South Carolina which ratified the Constitution. In that latter convention the doctrine of State sovereignty found a few champions; and their attempt to prevent the adoption of the Constitution, because it established a supreme national government, was rebuked by him in these memorable words. I quote from his speech as recorded in Elliott's Debates:

This admirable manifesto, which for importance of matter and elegance of composition stands unrivaled, and sufficiently confutes the honorable gentleman's doctrine of the individual sovereignty and independence of the several States. In that declaration the several States are not even enumerated, but after reciting, in nervous language and with convincing arguments, our right to independence, and the tyranny which compelled us to assert it, the declaration is made in the following words: "We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States."

The separate independence and individual sovereignty of the several States were never thought of by the enlightened band of patriots who framed this declaration. The several States are not even mentioned by name in any part of it, as if it was intended to impress this maxim on America—that our freedom and independence arose from our union, and that without it we could neither be free nor independent. Let us, then, consider all attempts to weaken this union by maintaining that each is separately and individually independent as a species of political heresy which can never benefit us, but may bring on us the most serious distresses.

For further and equally powerful vindication of the same view, I refer to the Commentaries of Justice Story, vol. 1, p. 197.

In this same connection, and as a pertinent and effective response to the Democratic doctrine under review, I quote from the first annual message of Abraham Lincoln, than whom no man of our generation studied the origin of the Union more profoundly. He said:

Our States have neither more nor less power than reserved to them in the Union by the Constitution, no one of them ever having been a State *out* of the Union. The original ones passed into the Union even *before* they cast off their British colonial independence, and the new ones each came into the Union directly from a condition of dependence, excepting Texas. And even Texas, in its temporary independence, was never designated a State. The new ones only took the designation of States on coming into the Union, while that name was first adopted for the old ones by the Declaration of Independence. Therein the "united colonies" were declared to be "free and independent States;" but, even then, the object plainly was not to declare their independence of *one another*, or of the *Union*, but directly the contrary, as their mutual pledge and their mutual action before, at the time, and afterward abundantly show.

The States have their status in the Union, and they have no other legal status. If they break from this, they can only do so against law and by revolution. The Union and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty. By conquest or purchase, the Union gave each of them whatever of independence and liberty it has. The Union is older than any of the States, and in fact it created them as States. Originally some dependent colonies made the Union, and in turn the Union threw off their old dependence for them and made them States, such as they are. Not one of them ever had a State constitution independent of the Union. Of course it is not forgotten that all the new States framed their constitutions before they entered the Union; nevertheless, dependent upon and preparatory to coming into the Union.

In further enforcement of the doctrine that the State governments were not the sovereigns who created this government, I refer to the great decision of the



Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Chisholm vs. The State of Georgia*, reported in 2 Dallas, a decision replete with the most enlightened national spirit, in which the court stamps with its indignant condemnation the notion that the State of Georgia was "sovereign" in any sense that made it independent of or superior to the nation.

Mr. Justice Wilson said :

As a judge of this court I know, and can decide upon the knowledge, that the citizens of Georgia, when they acted upon the large seal of the Union as a part of the "people of the United States," did not surrender the supreme or sovereign power to that State; but, as to the purposes of the Union, retained it to themselves. As to the purposes of the Union, therefore, Georgia is not a sovereign State.

\* \* \* \* \*

Whoever considers in a combined and comprehensive view the general texture of the Constitution will be satisfied that the people of the United States intended to form themselves into a nation for national purposes. They instituted for such purposes a national government, complete in all its parts, with powers legislative, executive, and judiciary, and in all those powers extending over the whole nation. It is congruous that, with regard to such purposes, any man or body of men, any person, natural or artificial, should be permitted to claim successfully an entire exemption from the jurisdiction of the national Government ?

Mr. Chairman, the dogma of State sovereignty which has reawakened to such vigorous life in this chamber, has borne such bitter fruits and entailed such suffering upon our people, that it deserves more particular notice. It should be noticed that the word "sovereignty" cannot be fitly applied to any government in this country. It is not found in our Constitution. It is a feudal word, born of the despotism of the middle ages, and was unknown even in imperial Rome. A "sovereign" is a person, a prince who has subjects that owe him allegiance. There is no one paramount sovereign in the United States. There is no person here who holds any title or authority whatever, except the official authority given him by law. Americans are not subjects, but citizens. Our only sovereign is the whole people. To talk about the "inherent sovereignty" of a corporation—an artificial person—is to talk nonsense; and we ought to reform our habit of speech on that subject.

But what do gentlemen mean when they tell us that a State is sovereign? What does sovereignty mean, in its accepted use, but a political corporation having no superior? Is a State of this Union such a corporation? Let us test it by a few examples drawn from the Constitution. No State of this Union can make war or conclude a peace. Without the consent of Congress, it cannot raise or support an army or a navy. It cannot make a treaty with a foreign power, nor enter into any agreement or compact with another State. It cannot levy imposts or duties on imports or exports. It cannot coin money. It cannot regulate commerce.

It cannot authorize a single ship to go into commission anywhere on the high seas; if it should, that ship would be seized as a pirate or confiscated for the laws of the United States. A State cannot emit bills of credit. It can enact no law which makes anything but gold and silver a legal tender. It has no flag except the flag of the Union. And there are many other subjects on which the States are forbidden by the Constitution to legislate.

How much inherent sovereignty is left in a corporation which is thus shorn of all these great attributes of sovereignty?

But this is not all. The Supreme Court of the United States may declare null and void any law or any clause of the constitution of a State which happens to be in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States. Again, the States appear as plaintiffs and defendants before the Supreme Court of the United States. They may sue each other; and, until the eleventh amendment was adopted, a citizen might sue a State. These "sovereigns" may all be summoned before their common superior to be judged. And yet they are endowed with supreme inherent sovereignty!

Again, the government of a State may be absolutely abolished by Congress, in case it is not republican in form. And, finally, to cap the climax of this absurd pretension, every right possessed by one of these "sovereign" States, every inherent sovereign right except the single right to equal representation in the Senate, may be taken away, without its consent, by the vote of two-thirds of Congress and three-fourths of the States. But, in spite of all these disabilities, we hear them paraded as independent, sovereign States, the creators of the Union and the dictators of its powers. How inherently "sovereign" must be that State west of the Mississippi which the nation bought and paid for with the public money, and permitted to come into the Union a half century after

the Constitution was adopted! And yet we are told that the States are inherently sovereign, and created the National Government!

Read a long line of luminous decisions of the Supreme Court. Take the life of Chief Justice Marshall, that great judge, who found the Constitution paper and made it a power, who found it a skeleton and clothed it with flesh and blood. By his wisdom and genius he made it the potent and beneficent instrument for the government of a great nation. Everywhere he repelled the insidious and dangerous heresy of the sovereignty of the States in the sense in which it has been used in these debates.

Half a century ago this heresy threatened the stability of the nation. The eloquence of Webster and his compeers and the patriotism and high courage of Andrew Jackson resisted and for a time destroyed its power; but it continued to live as the evil genius, the incarnate devil, of America; and in 1861 it was the fatal phantom that lured eleven millions of our people into rebellion against their Government. Hundreds of thousands of those who took up arms against the Union stubbornly resisted all inducements to that fatal step until they were summoned by the authority of their States.

The dogma of State sovereignty in alliance with chattel slavery finally made its appeal to that court of last resort where the laws are silent and where kings and nations appear in arms for judgment. In that awful court of war two questions were tried. Shall slavery live? And is a State so sovereign that it may nullify the laws and destroy the Union? Those two questions were tried on the thousand battle-fields of the war; and if war ever "legislates," as a leading Democrat of Ohio once wisely affirmed, then our war legislated finally upon those subjects and determined beyond all controversy that slavery should never again live in this Republic, and that there is not sovereignty enough in any State to authorize its people either to destroy the Union or nullify its laws.

I am unwilling to believe that any considerable number of Americans will ever again push that doctrine to the same extreme; and yet, in these summer months of 1879, in the Congress of the reunited nation, we find the majority drifting fast and far in the wrong direction by reasserting much of that doctrine which the war ought to have settled forever. And what is more lamentable, such declarations as those which I read at the outset are finding their echoes in many portions of the country which was lately the theatre of war. No one can read the proceedings at certain recent celebrations without observing the growing determination to assert that the men who fought against the Union were not engaged in treasonable conspiracy against the nation, but that they did right to fight for their States, and that, in the long run the "lost cause" will be victorious. These indications are filling the people with anxiety and indignation; and they are beginning to inquire whether the war has really settled these great questions.

I remind gentlemen on the other side that we have not ourselves revived these issues. We had hoped they were settled beyond recall, and that peace and friendship might be fully restored to our people.

But the truth requires me to say that there is one indispensable ground of agreement on which alone we can stand together, and it is this: The war for the Union was right, everlastingly right, [applause:] and the war against the Union was wrong, forever wrong. However honest and sincere individuals may have been, the secession was none the less rebellion and treason. We defend the States in the exercise of their many and important rights, and we defend with equal zeal the rights of the United States. The rights and authority of both were received from the people—the only source of inherent power.

We insist not only that this is a nation, but that the power of the Government, within its own prescribed sphere, operates directly upon the States and upon all the people. We insist that our laws shall be construed by our own courts and enforced by our Executive. Any theory which is inconsistent with this doctrine we will resist to the end.

Applying these reflections to the subject of national elections embraced in this bill, I remind gentlemen that this is a national House of Representatives. The people of my congressional district have a right to know that a man elected in New York city is elected honestly and lawfully; for he joins in making laws for forty-five millions of people. Every citizen of the United States has an interest and a right in every election within the Republic where national representatives are chosen. We insist that these laws relating to our national elections shall be enforced, not nullified; shall remain on the statute-books, and



not be repealed ; and that the just and legal supervision of these elections ought never again to be surrendered by the Government of the United States. By our consent it never shall be surrendered. [Applause.]

Now, Mr. Chairman, this bill is about to be launched upon its stormy passage. It goes not into unknown waters ; for its fellows have been wrecked in the same sea. Its short, disastrous, and, I may add, ignoble voyage is likely to be straight to the bottom. [Applause.]

In reply to Mr. Hurd, same day, Mr. GARFIELD said ;

MR. CHAIRMAN : Two points were made by my colleague from Ohio, [Mr. HURD,] to which I desire to call attention. To strengthen his position, that the United States has no voters, he has quoted, as other gentlemen have quoted, the case of *Minor vs. Happersett*, 21 Wallace, page 170.

The question before the court in that case was, whether a provision in the State constitution which confines the right of voting to *male* citizens of the United States is a violation of the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution. The court decided that it was not ; and, in delivering his opinion the Chief Justice took occasion to say that "the United States has no voters in the States, of its own creation." Now, all the gentlemen on the other side who have quoted this decision, have left out the words "*of its own creation*," which makes a very essential difference. The Constitution of the United States declares who shall vote for members of Congress, and it adopts the great body of voters whose qualifications may be or have been prescribed by the laws of the States. The power of *adoption* is no less a great governmental power than the power of *creation*.

But the second point to which I wish to refer, and which has been made by several gentlemen, and very markedly by my colleague, [Mr. HURD,] is this : He says that the contemporaneous construction of that clause of the Constitution which provides that Congress may at any time make or alter the regulations in regard to the time, place and manner of holding elections, has determined that Congress can never exercise that right so long as the States make provisions for it. So long as the States do not neglect or refuse to act, or are not prevented by rebellion or war from acting, it was their exclusive right to control the subject. That is what my colleague says. That is what is said in the *Record* of June 3 by a distinguished member of the Senate.

Now, mark how plain a tale shall put that down.

On the 21st day of August, 1789, in the first House of Representatives that ever met, Mr. Burke, a member from South Carolina, offered the following as one of the amendments to the Constitution. I will read it :

Congress shall not alter, modify or interfere in times, places or manner of holding elections of Senators or Representatives, except when any State shall refuse or neglect, or be unable by invasion or rebellion, to make such elections

That was the very proposition which my colleague says is the meaning of the Constitution as it now stands. This amendment was offered in a House of Representatives nearly one-half of whose membership was made up of men who were in the convention that framed the Constitution. That amendment was debated ; and I hold in my hand the brief record of the debate. Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, approving of the clause as it now stands, said :

He thought this one of the most justifiable of all the powers of Congress. It was essential to a body representing the whole community, that they should have power to regulate their own elections, in order to secure a representation from every part, and prevent any improper regulations calculated to answer party purposes only. It is a solecism in politics to let others judge for them, and is a departure from the principles upon which the Constitution was founded. \* \* \* He thought no legislature was without the power to determine the mode of its own appointment ; \* \* \* that such an amendment as was now proposed would alter the Constitution ; it would vest the supreme authority in places where it was never contemplated.

Mr. Madison was willing to make every amendment that was required by the States, which did not tend to destroy the principles and efficacy of the Constitution ; he conceived that the proposed amendment would have that tendency ; he was therefore opposed to it.

Mr. Sherman observed that the convention was very unanimous in passing this clause ; that it was an important provision, and if it was resigned, it would tend to subvert the Government.

Mr. Goodhue hoped the amendment never would obtain. \* \* \* Now, rather than this amendment should take effect, he would vote against all that had been agreed to. His greatest apprehensions were that the State governments would oppose and thwart the general one to such a degree as finally to overturn it. Now, to guard against this evil, he wished the Federal Government to possess every power necessary to its existence.

After a full debate, in which the doctrine of States rights was completely overwhelmed so far as this subject was concerned, the vote was taken, and 23 voted in favor of the amendment and 28 voted against it. It did not get even a majority, much less a two-thirds vote, in the House; and it never was called up in the Senate at all.

Now, who were the men that voted against it? Let me read some of their honored names: Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts; Charles Carroll, of Carrollton; Clymer, of Pennsylvania, whose distinguished descendant is a member of this House; Fitzsimmons, of Pennsylvania; Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, who was Speaker of the first House of Representatives; Lee and Madison, of Virginia; Trumbull and Sherman, of Connecticut—all those great names are recorded against the very construction of the Constitution which my colleague defends as the correct interpretation of the existing clause on that subject. That is all I desire to say.



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SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES A. GARFIELD,

OF OHIO,

DELIVERED AT

CLEVELAND, OHIO,

OCTOBER 11, 1879.

REVISED EDITION

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA

BY

JOHN B. HENNING

NEW YORK

1850

NEW YORK



# SPEECH

OF

## HON. JAMES A. GARFIELD,

AT

CLEVELAND, OHIO, OCTOBER 11, 1879.

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FELLOW-CITIZENS: The distinguished gentlemen who have preceded me have covered the ground so completely and so admirably that I have a very easy task. I will pick up a few straws here and there over that broad field and ask you for a few moments to look at them. I take it for granted that every thoughtful, intelligent man would be glad, if he could, to be on the right side, believing that in the long run the right side will be the strong side. I take it for granted that every man would like to hold political opinions that will live some time, if he could. It is a very awkward thing indeed to adopt a political opinion, and trust to it, and find that it will not live over night. [Laughter.] It would be an exceedingly awkward thing to go to bed alone with your political doctrine, trusting and believing in it, thinking it is true, and wake up in the morning and find it a corpse in your arms. [Laughter.]

I should be glad for my part to hold to a political doctrine that would live all through summer, and stand the frost, and stand a freeze in the winter, and come out alive and true in the spring. [Laughter.] I should like to adopt political doctrines that would live longer than my dog. [Laughter.] I should be glad to hold to a political doctrine that would live longer than I shall live, and that my children after me might believe in as true, and say, "This doctrine is true to-day, and it was true fifty years ago when my father adopted it."

Every great political party that has done this country any good has given to it some immortal ideas that have outlived all the members of that party. The old Federal party gave great, permanent ideas to this country that are still alive. The old Whig party did the same. The old, the very old, Democratic party did the same. [Laughter.] The party of Andrew Jackson, Benton and Calhoun. But

### THE MODERN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

has given this country in the last twenty years no idea that has lived to be four years old. [Laughter.] I mean an idea, not a passion. The Democratic party has had passions that have lasted longer than that. They have had an immortal appetite for office. [Laughter.] That is just as strong to-day as it was twenty years ago. Somebody has called the Democratic party "an organized appetite." [Laughter.] But that is not an idea; that is of the brain [laughter] and not of the heart, nor of the brain. I say again they have given to this country no great national idea or doctrine that has lived to be four years old; and if we had in this great park, as in a great field, herded here together all the ideas that the Democratic party has uttered and put forth in the last twenty years, there would not be found a four-year-old in the lot, [laughter]—hardly a three-year-old—hardly a two-year-old. They have adopted a doctrine just to last till election was over, and if it did not succeed, they have dropped it to try another; and they have tried another until it failed, and then tried another.

and it has been a series of mere trials to catch success. Whenever they have started in a campaign, they have looked out to all the political barns to see how the tin roosters were pointing, to learn from the political weather-cocks which way the wind is likely to blow; and then they have made their doctrines accordingly. [Laughter and applause.] This is no slander of the Democratic party. As my friend Mr. Foster has said, this is true not so much of the body of the party as of the leaders. What a dance they have put the good, sound, quiet, steady-going Democrat through during the last twenty years! [Laughter.] They made him denounce our war for a long time; and then, when it was all over, they made him praise it. [Laughter.] They made him vote with a party that called our soldiers "Lincoln's hirelings" and "Lincoln's dogs;" and this very day one of the men who did that is parading up and down this State praising the Democratic party because it has two soldiers at the head of its ticket, and sneering at us because Mr. Foster was not a soldier in the field.

That party has taken both sides of every great question in this country in the last twenty years. They are in favor of the war—after it is over. [Laughter.] They are in favor of hard money—or they will be next year, after it is an accomplished fact. They were opposed to greenbacks when greenbacks were necessary to save the life of the nation, and when they thought it would be popular to oppose greenbacks. The moment they found it was unpopular they faced the other way, and declared that the greenback was the best currency the world ever saw.

I would like to ask that good, old, quiet Democrat how he has felt when they have told him to vote against the war one year and then praise it the next, and he had to follow his leaders all the while, how he felt when they told him to curse greenbacks, and he voted the ticket, and then when they ordered him to wheel right around on his heel and march the other way, and vote the Democratic ticket all the time. They told him, for example, that the proposition to let the negro have his freedom was an outrageous thing that must not be listened to, and he voted the Democratic ticket. A little while after they came around and said: "We will enforce all the amendments of the Constitution, the negro amendment among the rest, and we are among the best friends that the negro ever had." And yet he voted with them every time, [laughter,] facing right the other way. When we proposed to give the ballot to the negro, they said: "Why, he is an inferior race. God made him to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. He is inferior to us. He is of bad odor, and bad every way, of low intelligence, and we will never, never allow him to vote." What do they say now? They are cooing and billing with every negro that will listen to them, and asking him to vote the Democratic ticket. They are saying to him, "My friend, the Democratic party was always a good friend of the negro. [Laughter.] The Democratic party knows the negro better than the Republicans do. We have been nearer to you, We know your habits. [Laughter.] We understand your character and we can do you more good." Yes, they have been nearer to you. The fellow that flogs you with a cat-o'-nine-tails has to be pretty near to you. [Laughter.] They have a warm feeling for you. [Laughter.] The man that brands your cheek with a red-hot iron gets up a good deal of warmth towards you. [Laughter.]

But, my friends, the curious thing is how a steady-going, consistent Democrat can have followed all these crooks and turns and facings-about of his party in all these years, and not have gotten dizzy by turning so frequently. [Laughter.] They shouted for hard money and he voted the Democratic ticket. They shouted for soft money and he voted the Democratic ticket. They said the three amendments to the Constitution were void and should not be obeyed, and he voted the Democratic ticket. They walked right out to the next great election bringing Horace Greeley in their arms and said, "We will carry out all the amendments to the Constitution; we will be the best friend of the slave in the world," and he voted the Democratic ticket, [laughter,] following in the same wake.

Now, my friends, there has not been a leading prophecy, there has not been a leading doctrine put forward by the Democratic party in all these years that it has not itself abandoned. I do not believe there is a fair-minded Democrat here to-night who does not rejoice in his soul that his party has abandoned the leading doctrines of the last twenty years. [Laughter.] Are you



sorry, my Democratic friend, that slavery is dead? I believe you are not. Then you are glad that we outvoted you when you tried to keep it alive. [Applause.] Are you sorry that rebellion and secession are dead? If you are not, then you are glad that you were overwhelmed and outvoted when you tried to keep the party that sustained them alive. [Applause.] Are you glad that our war was not a failure? If you are, you are glad that we voted you down in 1864, when your central doctrine was that the war was a failure and must be stopped. If you are glad of so many things, will you not be glad when we have voted down your party next Tuesday and elected Charley Foster governor of Ohio? [Applause. A voice, "We are going to do it for a fact."] You are going to do it, I have no doubt.

#### WHY REPUBLICANS WILL SUCCEED.

There are two great reasons why the people of this State are going to do it. One is that they do not intend to allow any more fooling with the business of this country. [Applause.] For the last four years the chief obstacles in the way of the restoration of business prosperity and the full employment of labor in this country has been the danger threatened to you by the politicians in Congress. [Applause.] Business has waited to awaken. Prosperity has been trying to come. General Ewing tells us that it is Divine Providence and a good crop that brought revival of business this year. I remind General Ewing that we had a bountiful crop last year, and business did not revive. I remind him that the year before was a year of great harvest and plenty, and prosperity did not come.

#### EWING'S GOSPEL.

Do you know that when we commenced this campaign General Ewing began to preach his old sermon of last year—his gospel of gloom, and darkness, and distress, and misery; and some of his friends said: "But see here, Ewing, the furnaces are aflame; the mills are busy. It will not do to talk that these people are all in distress." And for a week or two Mr. Ewing denied that there was any revival of business. He denied it flatly. But every mill roared in his ears, and every furnace and forge flashed in his eyes the truth that there was a revival of business; and then for about four days he undertook to say that it was a campaign dodge of the Republican party, [laughter:] that they started up a few iron-mills until election to affect the election. But that would not work, for Democratic States began to start their iron-mills, [laughter:] rebel States began to boom in business, and that second explanation of Mr. Ewing's would not work. Then he undertook, and is still undertaking, to explain this prosperity away. I heard a gentleman lately tell an incident that illustrates this futile attempt of Mr. Ewing. England wanted Garibaldi married to some distinguished English lady so as to ally free Italy to England. They got it well talked up in diplomatic circles, but finally some unfortunate fellow suggested a fact that disturbed their calculations. It was that Garibaldi was married, [laughter:] that he had a young, healthy wife, likely to outlive him. The old diplomatist, not to be balked by any obstacles, said: "Never mind, we will get Gladstone to explain her away." [Laughter.] Gladstone is a very able man, but when he attempts to explain away as real a thing as a woman, [laughter,] and a wife at that, he undertakes a great contract. [Laughter.] Thomas Ewing is not any abler than Gladstone, and his attempt to explain away this prosperity of our country will be more disastrous than the attempt of Gladstone would have been if he had made it. [Applause; cries of "Hear!" "Hear!"] Everywhere he goes it meets him.

#### THE REVIVAL OF BUSINESS.

Pig iron in this country, the lowest form of the iron product, has risen in price almost thirteen dollars the ton since resumption came, [applause,] and all industries depending upon it have risen in proportion. My only fear—and I say it to the business men around me to-night—is that the revival of business is coming too fast, and that we may overdo it and bring a reaction by and by. But that prosperity has come, and, if we do not abuse it, has come to stay, I have no doubt. I do not claim that the resumption of specie payments has done it at all. I admit that the favorable balance of trade, that the operation of our

tariff laws, that our own great crops and the failure of crops in Europe have done much to secure and aid this revival of business.

But there is an element in this revival distinctly and markedly traceable to the resumption of specie payments, and I ask your indulgence for a half a minute to state it.

#### WHAT RESUMPTION HAS DONE.

All over this country there was hidden away in the hands of private men, in stocking feet, in tills, in safes, capital that they dared not invest. Why? Because they did not know what Congress would do; whether it would vote their prosperity up or down, whether the wild vagaries of fiat money should rule or whether the old God-made dollar of the Constitution and the fathers, the hundred-cent dollar, the dollar all round, should come to be our standard or not; and they waited. But the moment our Government, in spite of the Democratic party, in spite of the fiat-money party, in spite of all croakers of all parties, resolved to redeem the great war promises of the nation, and lift our currency up to be as good as gold the world over, that moment the great needed restoration of confidence came, and when it came, capital came out of its hiding places and invested itself in business. [Applause.] And that investment, that confidence, that stability, gave the grand and needed impetus to the restoration of prosperity in this country.

Now, what has been the trouble with us? Eighteen hundred and sixty was one shore of prosperity and 1879 the other; and between those two high shores has flowed the broad, deep, dark river of fire and blood and disaster through which this nation has been compelled to wade [applause] and in whose depths it has been almost suffocated and drowned. In the darkness of that terrible passage we carried liberty in our arms; we bore the Union on our shoulders; and we bore in our hearts and on our arms what was even better than liberty and Union—we bore the faith and honor and public trust of this mighty nation. [Applause.] And never, until we came up out of the dark waters, out of the darkness of that terrible current, and planted our feet upon the solid shore of 1879—never, I say, till then could this country look back to the other shore and feel that its feet were on solid ground, and then look forward to the rising uplands of perpetual peace and prosperity that should know no diminution in the years to come. [Applause.]

I rejoice, for my part, that the party to which I belong has not been fighting against God in this struggle for prosperity. [Applause.] I rejoice that the party to which I belong has not had its prospects hurt by the coming of prosperity. [Applause.] Can you say so much, my Democratic friend, for your party? Would it not have been better for you at the polls next Tuesday if the blight had fallen upon our great corn crop, if the Colorado beetle had swept every potato field in America, if the early fruit had smitten us all? Don't you think Mr. Ewing could then have talked more eloquently about the grief, and suffering, and outrage, and hard times brought upon you by the Republican policy of resumption? [Applause and laughter.] I should be ashamed to belong to a political party whose prospects were hurt by the blessing of my country.

But it so was all during the war. Just before election day time in Ohio during the war, a great battle that won a victory over the rebellion hurt the Democratic party in this State, and they walked about our streets looking down their noses in sadness and gloom, recognizing that their ballots would be fewer on election day because of the success of our arms; and if our soldiers were overwhelmed in battle, if five thousand of your children were slaughtered on the field by the enemies of the Republic, the Democrats in Ohio walked more confidently to the polls on election day, and said: "Didn't I tell you so?" [Applause.] There is something wrong with a party about which those things could be truthfully said, and you know that they are the truth.

#### THE REPUBLICAN PARTY TRUE TO THE PEOPLE.

Now, I leave all that with this single reflection: That it is to me for my party a matter of pride and congratulation that in all the darkness of these years we have not deceived you by any cunning device to flatter your passions or your hopes. We have told you these are hard times; we are in the midst



of suffering, and there is no patent process by which you can get out of it. You cannot print yourselves rich. You have got to suffer and be strong. You have got to endure and be economical. You have got to wait in patience and do justice, keep your pledges, keep your promises, obey the laws, and by-and-by prosperity will come with its blessings upon you. We have now nothing to take back. We rejoice that we were true to you in the days of darkness, and we congratulate you that you have stood by the truth until your hour of triumph has come. [Applause.]

#### ANOTHER REASON FOR TRIUMPH.

I said there were two reasons why I thought we would triumph next Tuesday. I have hinted at one; I will now speak briefly of the other. I mean to say that the great audiences that have gathered everywhere in Ohio during this campaign have had more than finance in their hearts. They have thought of something as much higher than finance as liberty is more precious than cash. [Applause.] They have been moved—and I ask all Democrats to hear it with patience—by what I venture to call

#### THE NEW REBELLION

against liberty and this Government. [Applause.] I do not mean a rebellion with guns, for I think that was tried to the hearts' content of the people that undertook it. [Applause.] Not that, but another one no less wicked in purpose and no less dangerous in character. Let me try in a few words, if it be possible to reach all this vast audience, to make you understand what I mean by this new rebellion.

Fellow-citizens, what is the central thought in American life? What is the germ out of which all our institutions were born and have been developed? Let me give it to you in a word. When the Mayflower was about to land her precious freight upon the shore of Plymouth, the Pilgrim Fathers gathered in the cabin of that little ship, on a stormy November day, and after praying to Almighty God for the success of their great enterprise drew up and signed what is known in history, and what will be known to the last syllable of recorded time, as

#### “ THE PILGRIM COVENANT. ”

In that covenant is one sentence which I ask you to take home with you tonight. It is this: “ We agree before God and each other that the freely-expressed will of the majority shall be the law of all, which we will all obey.” [Applause.] Ah, fellow-citizens, it does honor to the heads and the hearts of a great New England audience here on this Western Reserve to applaud the grand and simple sentiment of the Pilgrim Fathers. They said, “ No standing army shall be needed to make us obey. We will erect here in America a substitute for monarchy, a substitute for despotism, and that substitute shall be the will of the majority as the law of all.” And that germ, planted on the rocky shores of New England, has sprung up, and all the trees of our liberty have grown from it into the beauty and glory of this year of our life. [Applause.]

Over against that there grew up in the South a spirit in absolute antagonism to the “ Pilgrim Covenant.” That spirit, engendered by the institution of slavery, became one of the most powerful and despotic of all the forces on the face of this globe.

Let me state, even as an apology for that tyranny—if you and I owned a powder mill in the city of Cleveland, we would have a right to make some very stringent and arbitrary rules about that powder mill. We would have a right to say that no man should enter it who had nails in the heels of his boots, because a single step might explode it and ruin us all. But that would be an absurd law to make about your own house or about a green grocer's shop.

Now, the establishment of the institution of slavery required laws and customs absolutely tyrannical in their character. Nails in the heels of your boots in a powder magazine would be safety compared with letting education into slavery. [Applause.] It was an institution that would be set on fire by the torch of knowledge, and they knew it, and therefore they said, “ The shining gates of knowledge shall be shut everywhere where a slave lives. It shall be a

crime to teach a black man the alphabet ; a crime greater still to teach him the living oracles of Almighty God ; for if once the golden rule of Christ finds its way into the heart of a negro man, and he learns the literature of liberty, our institution is in danger. Hence the whole Southern people became a disciplined, banded, absolute despotism over the politics of their section. They had to be. I do not blame them. I only blame the system that compelled them to be so. Now, therefore, all before the war the Southern people were the best disciplined politicians in this world. They were organized on the one great idea of protecting their Southern society with slavery as its center. Do you know the power of discipline ? Here is a vast audience of ten or fifteen thousand people in this square, and you are not organized. One resolute captain with one hundred resolute, disciplined soldiers, such as stormed the heights of Kenesaw, could sweep through this square and drive us all out hither and thither at their pleasure. And that is nothing against our courage. It is in favor of their discipline. The clinched fist of Southern slaveholders was too much for the great, bulky, proud strength of the North. They went to Washington, consolidated for one purpose, and they called all their fellows around them from the North, and said, "Give way to our doctrine, and you have our friendship and support. Go against us at all, and we rule you out of place and power." The result was that the Southern politicians absolutely commanded and controlled their Northern allies. They converted the

#### NORTHERN DEMOCRATS INTO DOUGH-FACES

of the most abject pattern ; and you know here to-night, if there be a Democrat who listens to me, that the Republican party was born as a protest against the tyranny of that Southern political hierarchy that made slaves of all Northern Democrats. [Applause.] Three-quarters of the Republican party were made up twenty-five years ago by Democrats that would no longer consent to be slaves.

Now, why am I going into that long tirade in the past? For this purpose: After the war was over, and reconstruction completed, this same Southern political hierarchy came back into power in Washington, and to-day they are as consolidated as the slaveholding politicians of 1860-'1 were! ["Hear!" "hear!"] And to-day they hold in their grip absolutely all the Northern members of their party! The Northern dough-face has again appeared in American politics, and he is found wherever a Democrat Congressman sits. [Applause.] I say without offense, it is the literal truth that this day there is not in all this country a free and absolutely independent-minded Democratic member of either House of your Congress at Washington. [Applause.]

Now let me go back for a moment, and return to this point with a reinforcement. Are you aware that there is one thing that can kill this country and kill it beyond all hope? That one thing is the destruction or enslavement of its voting population. The voting population of the United States is the only sovereign on this continent. [Applause.] You talk about the sovereign States, or even the sovereign nation. A corporation is not a sovereign. The corporation that we call Ohio was made by the people, and they are its sovereigns. Even the grand corporation that we call the United States was created also by the people, who are its superiors and its only sovereigns. Now, therefore, if anything happens in this country to corrupt, or enslave, or destroy the voters of the United States, that is an irreparable injury to liberty and the Union. [Applause.] If in Europe they slay a sovereign, one man is killed, and another can be found to take his place ; but when they slay our sovereign there is no heir to the throne ; our sovereign has no successor.

Well, now, that is rather general, but I ask you to come down to particulars. Let me make this statement to you : In 1872, only seven years ago, in the eleven States that went into rebellion there were cast, at a free and fair election, 759,000 Republican votes and 650,000 Democratic votes. There is liberty for you ! There are a million and a quarter of free voting citizens casting their ballots for the men of their choice !

This country has been growing in the last seven years, but let me tell you what calamity has happened to us. In those same eleven rebel States there have disappeared apparently from the face of the earth 400,000 American voters. Fellow-citizens, that is an awful sentence which I have just spoken in your



hearing. I repeat it. In eleven States of this Union there have disappeared, apparently from the face of the earth, 400,000 American voters. Where have they gone? They are all Republicans. Have they gone to the Democratic party? No; for the Democratic party has also lost some of its voters in those States. What has happened? I will tell you. That spirit of Southern tyranny, that old spirit of despotism born of slavery, has arisen and killed freedom in the South. It has slain liberty in at least seven of the eleven States of the South.

#### MISSISSIPPI BULL-DOZING.

It happened in this wise: In 1872, in five States of the South, we had a marked, overwhelming, and fair majority of Republican votes. For example, in the State of Mississippi, at the Congressional election of 1872, there were thrown 80,803 Republican votes, and there were thrown 40,500 Democratic votes. That was a fair test of the strength of the two parties. Five Republicans and one Democrat were elected to Congress from the State of Mississippi. Six years passed, and in 1878 there were just 2,056 Republican votes thrown in the State of Mississippi. How many Democratic votes? Thirty-five thousand. They had fallen off 5,000; the Republicans had fallen off 78,000 votes. Where had the 78,000 voters gone? I will tell you. The rebel army, without uniforms, organized itself as Democratic clubs in Mississippi, and armed with shot-guns and rifles, surrounded the houses of Republican voters, with the muzzles of their guns at their heads, in the night, and said, "You come out and vote, if you dare. We will kill you when you come." And all over the State of Mississippi the Democratic party, being the old rebel army, deployed itself among the cabins of the blacks and killed liberty everywhere throughout that State.

Why, in a district of Mississippi where, in 1872, 15,000 Republican votes were polled and 8,000 Democratic, there were but 4,000 polled for a rebel general and twelve scattering votes polled for other people—not one Republican vote put in a box in all the district. So it was in Alabama. So it was in Louisiana in part. So it was in the two Carolinas. The result was this: Four hundred thousand voters substantially annihilated. And the further result was this: Thirty Democratic rebels elected in Republican districts where liberty had first been slain; and to-day there are thirty members of Congress, not one of whom has any more right to sit there and make laws for you and me than an inhabitant of that jail has a right to go there and make laws for us. [Applause.] They are not created Congressmen by virtue of law, but by virtue of murder, assassination, riot, intimidation; and on the dead body of American liberty they stand and make laws for you and me. [Applause.] That gives them the House. That gives them the Senate. That gives the old slave power and the old rebel power its grip again on this country, and it gives them what we call the Solid South. I am talking plain talk. I am talking words that I expect will be read by every gentleman in Congress whom I am to-night denouncing. I expect to meet those gentlemen and make good every word I say. [Great applause.]

#### THE AIM OF THE SOLID SOUTH.

Now, what purpose has this Solid South in thus grasping power and killing liberty? This: They are determined to make their old "lost cause" the triumphant cause. Who is their leader to-day? By all odds, the most popular man south of Mason and Dixon's line is Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi. He is to-day their hero and their leader; and I will give you my proof of it.

#### THE RICE PENSION BILL.

Do you know that our friend General Rice has been making a great deal of small capital out of the fact that he introduced an arrears of pensions bill for soldiers? You all know what kind of a bill that was. It was a bill granting arrears of pensions to our soldiers; but it also granted arrears of pensions to all rebel soldiers who had fought in the Mexican war. We made a law that the name of a man who had taken up arms against this country should be stricken from our pension rolls, and he should receive no money out of our Treasury. That law Mr. Rice's bill repealed in so far as it related to the Mexican soldiers, and he knew and was told plainly that that clause included Jefferson Davis as one of the pensioners to be helped by that law; and even in that rebel Congress there were many Democrats that could not quite be brought up to the scratch

to vote to pension Jefferson Davis ; and hence Mr. Rice's bill hung in the committee and was not reported. Then a Republican member of the House moved to discharge the committee from the consideration of the whole subject. He introduced a bill that did not have Jefferson Davis in it, but had only our soldiers in it ; and that bill, not Mr. Rice's, passed. [Applause.] But when that bill got to the Senate a Democrat moved to add the Rice section that covered all rebel pensioners under its provisions ; and then it was that Mr. Hoar, of Massachusetts, called the attention of the United States Senate to the fact that that amendment would include Jefferson Davis, and he moved an amendment to the amendment that it should not be so constructed.

#### THE DEFENDERS OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

What followed ? Immediately there sprang to his feet our Ohio Senator. I blush for my State when I repeat it. Allen G. Thurman arose to his feet and said : " The Democratic Legislature of Ohio has instructed me to vote to pension the soldiers of the Mexican war, and they did not instruct me to make an exception against Jefferson Davis, and therefore I vote against Mr. Hoar's amendment." Thereupon Mr. Hoar spoke against the amendment that would pension Jefferson Davis, and the moment he did it there sprang up all over that chamber champions and defenders of Jefferson Davis. The tomahawks literally flew, or rather metaphorically flew, everywhere at the head of any Republican that dared to suggest that the Government ought not to pension Jefferson Davis. Lamar, of Mississippi, an eloquent and able Senator, arose in his place and said that there had not lived on this earth, from the days of Hampden to Washington, a purer patriot and a nobler man than Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi. Man after man exhausted his eloquence in defending and eulogizing the arch-rebel, who led this country into oceans of blood. I give you that to show the spirit that animates the people that rule in Congress to-day.

Now let me say a word more that connects what I am saying with the old story of the days before slavery was dead. I have been seventeen years a member of the House, and in all that period I never have once known, as my friends here on the stand can testify in their experience, of the members of the Republican party binding themselves in a caucus to support any bill before Congress. I have seen it tried once or twice, but I have always seen dozens of Republicans spring to their feet and say, " I am a free man, and I will vote according to the interests of my constituents and the dictates of my conscience, and no caucus shall bind me."

#### THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY RULED BY THE CAUCUS.

But the moment the Democratic party got back into power again, that moment they organized the caucus—the secret caucus, the oath-bound caucus, for within the recent extra session they have actually taken oaths not to divulge what occurred in caucus, and to be bound by whatever the caucus decreed, and I have known man after man, who had sworn by all the wicked gods at once that he would not be bound to go for a certain measure, walk out of the caucus like a sheep led to the slaughter, and vote for the bill that he had cursed. They brought bills at the extra session so full of manifest errors that when we pointed them out they would admit in private that there were errors that ought to be corrected, but they would say, " I have agreed to vote for it without amendment, and I will." We pointed out wretchedly bad grammar in bills, and they would not even correct their grammar, because the caucus had adopted it. [Laughter.] Now, therefore, gentlemen, the Congress of the United States is ruled by a caucus. It has ceased to be a deliberative body. It is ruled by a secret caucus, and who rules the caucus ? Two-thirds of its members are men who fought this country in war ; who tried to destroy this nation, and who to-day look upon Jefferson Davis as the foremost patriot and highest political leader in America. Therefore, the leadership which rules you is the rebellion in Congress.

#### THE DEMOCRATIC PLAN FOR SUCCESS IN 1880.

Well, now, what of that ? This is not all. They look over the field of 1880 and they say they have got in their hands the solid South, and they lack only one thing more. They lack thirty-seven electoral votes to add to their one



hundred and thirty-five and they have captured the offices of the Government and have captured the Presidency. The South will have the whole control of this Republic in its hands.

Now, how are they going to get the thirty-seven electoral votes? There are two States that will fill the bill—New York and Ohio. If they can get those two States next year they have indeed captured the Government. [A voice: "They can't have them."] This good friend says they can't have them. [A voice: "Never."] They cannot get them in this audience. This is not the place to capture the State of Ohio for rebel brigadiers. They cannot capture it in any of the great agricultural counties of Ohio, for they are sound and true to the Union, and loyal to their heart's core. They cannot go into the central parts of patriotic New York and capture the thirty-seven votes.

But I will tell you, fellow-citizens, what they hope to do, and there is one way by which they may succeed. Let me stop and say one single word to you about the great cities. Thomas Jefferson said that great cities were the sores on the body politic—the cancers whose roots run down and curse, and will ultimately break up the country unless they are ruled. A city of the size of Cleveland has its troubles. A great city like the city of New York has passed the bounds of safety in this country.

The ablest orator that Rome ever produced, in describing the political party led by Cataline, said that all the bankrupts, all the desperadoes, all the thieves and robbers and murderers gathered around Cataline, and finally, in a horrible figure of tremendous power, he said that the party of Cataline was "the bilge water of Rome." What a figure that is, my friends! What do you mean by "bilge water?" That water that leaks stealthily through your planks and down below the deck and in the darkness, out of sight, out of reach; it reeks and stagnates and stinks, breeds pestilence and brings death upon all that are on board. Cicero said that that party that gathered in Rome was "the bilge water of Rome," and into that bilge water, in the cities of Cincinnati and New York, the Democratic party desire to insert their political pumps and pump out the hell broth that can poison and corrupt and ruin the freedom of both these great cities, and gain them to the solid South. [Applause.] That is the programme. If they can get control of the elections, they will make both those cities strong enough Democratic to overwhelm all the votes that the green lanes of our country can grow.

#### THE ELECTION LAWS.

Now, what is in the way of that? Just two things. The United States have passed a law to put a Democrat at one end of the ballot-box in the great cities and a Republican at the other end, and it empowered those two men, not to run the election, but to stand there as eyes of the Government and look—look first to see that the ballot-box is empty when they begin, and then to stand and look into the face of every man that votes, and if he comes to vote twice record it and have him brought before the judge and sent to the penitentiary for his crime; and to stay there until the polls are closed, and then not allow the ballot-boxes to be sent off and the vote counted in secret by partisan judges, but to be opened and unfolded and read in the light of day, recorded and certified to by the Republican and Democratic officers, so that the justice of the ballot-box should not be outraged and freedom should not be slain.

No juster law was ever passed on this continent than that. It saved New York from the supremest of crimes. It elicited, even from a Democratic committee, of which A. V. Rice was a member, the highest possible encomium in 1876. And he and "Sunset" Cox, of New York, in their official report to Congress, recommended to all parts of the country the admirable election law of Congress that brought into unison and co-operation the officers of the State and the officers of the nation, in keeping a pure ballot and a free election in the great cities. That is what the Democratic party said of this law in 1876. But their masters of the caucus had not then given out their decree. They have now given it, and the decree from the secret caucus, the decree from their old slave masters, has now gone forth: "Take those two men away from the ballot-box. Wipe out the election law so that the Tweeds of New York and the Eph Hollands of Cincinnati may have free course, and do the work, and fix 1880 in their own way." That is the programme of the rebel brigadiers in Congress.

I understand that Mr. Ewing said here the other night he was amazed to hear Republicans talk as though they were afraid of a few rebel brigadiers. It was not so surprising, he said, that our friend Foster should be afraid of them, throwing a slur at him because he was not in the army, but he was surprised that General Garfield should be alarmed at the brigadiers. [Laughter.] I am here to answer General Ewing. [Applause.] As to who is afraid of brigadiers, let him boast who has the first need to boast. [Applause.]

But there are some things I am afraid of, and I confess it in this great presence. I am afraid to do a mean thing. [Applause and cries of "Good."] I am afraid of any policy that will let the vileness of New York city pour its foul slime over the freedom of the American ballot-box and ruin it. [Applause.] And the man that is not afraid of that I am ashamed of him. [Applause.]

#### THE REBEL PROBLEM.

Now, how to get these two men away from the ballot-box is the rebel problem. If they get them away, the solid South has triumphed. If they get them away, "the lost cause" has won, and Jefferson Davis is crowned as the foremost man in America. If they get them away, good-bye for a generation to come to the old "pilgrim covenant" and the doctrine of the right of the majority to rule.

Now, how did they undertake to get them away? In this way: They said to us, "At last we have got you. We have the control of the Treasury. No money can be employed to support the Government unless we vote it by an appropriation. Now, we tell you that we will never vote one dollar to support your Government until you join us in tearing down that election law and take away those two witnesses from the polls." That is what they told us.

Then we answered them thus: "Eighteen years ago you were in power in this Congress, and the last act of your domination was this: You told us that if we dared to elect Abraham Lincoln President you would shoot our Government to death; and we answered, 'We are free men, begotten of freedom, and are accustomed to vote our thoughts. We believe in Abraham Lincoln. We will elect him President.' And we did. [Applause.] And then eleven great States declared that they would shoot the Union to death, and we appealed to the majesty of the great North land and went out onto a thousand bloody battle-fields, and we shot the shooters to death and saved this Union alive. [Applause.] And for eighteen years you have been in exile, banished from power, and now, by virtue of murder, and assassination, and the slaying of liberty, you have come back; and the first act you do on your return is not now courageously to dare us out to battle, but like assassins, cowards, murderers, you come to us and say, 'With our hand on the throat of your Government, we will starve it to death if you do not let us pluck down the sacred laws that protect the purity of elections.'" And we said to them: "By the sacred memories of eighteen years ago, we reply, 'You shall not starve this Government to death, nor shall you tear down these laws. The men that saved it in battle will now feed it in peace. [Great applause.] The men that bore it on their shields in the hour of death will feed it with the gift of their hands in the hour of its glory.'" And they said, "You shall try it." And they passed their iniquitous bill. They took the bread of the Government and spread upon it the poison of the bilge water of New York and Cincinnati, and they said to the Government, "Eat this or starve." They passed the iniquity through the House and through the Senate, and it went to an Ohio Republican who sits in the seat of the great Washington, [applause,] whose arm is mailed with the thunderbolt of the Constitution; and he hurled the power of his veto against the wicked bill, and killed it. Five times they tried the iniquity, and five times he killed with the power of the Constitution the wickedness they sought to perpetrate. [Applause.] And then, like sneaking cowards as they were, they passed the appropriations all but six hundred thousand dollars and said, "We will come back to it next winter, and we will never give it up until we conquer you; and in the meantime," they said, "we will appeal to the people at the ballot-box." They are now making that appeal. And so are we. That is what we are here for to-night. [Applause.] And it is that appeal that awakens this people as it has never been awakened before since the days of



Vallandigham and Brough, especially Brough. [Laughter.] In the presence of this people, in the heart of this Old Reserve, I feel the consciousness of our strength and the assurance of our victory. [Applause.]

AN APPEAL TO YOUNG MEN.

Now, fellow-citizens, a word before I leave you, on the very eve of the holy day of God—a fit moment to consecrate ourselves finally to the great work of next Tuesday morning. I see in this great audience to-night a great many young men, young men who are about to cast their first vote. I want to give you a word of suggestion and advice. I heard a very brilliant thing said by a boy the other day up in one of our northwestern counties. He said to me, "General, I have a great mind to vote the Democratic ticket." That was not the brilliant thing. [Laughter.] I said to him, "Why?" "Why," said he, "my father is a Republican and my brothers are Republicans, and I am a Republican all over, but I want to be an independent man, and I don't want anybody to say, 'That fellow votes the Republican ticket just because his dad does,' and I have half a mind to vote the Democratic ticket just to prove my independence." I did not like the thing the boy suggested, but I did admire the spirit of the boy that wanted to have some independence of his own.

Now, I tell you, young man, don't vote the Republican ticket just because your father votes it. Don't vote the Democratic ticket, even if he does vote it. [Laughter.] But let me give you this one word of advice, as you are about to pitch your tent in one of the great political camps. Your life is full and buoyant with hope now, and I beg you, when you pitch your tent, pitch it among the living and not among the dead. [Applause.] If you are at all inclined to pitch it among the Democratic people and with that party, let me go with you for a moment while we survey the ground where I hope you will not shortly lie. [Laughter.] It is a sad place, young man, for you to put your young life into. It is to me far more like a grave-yard than like a camp for the living. Look at it! It is billowed all over with the graves of dead issues, of buried opinions, of exploded theories, of disgraced doctrines. You cannot live in comfort in such a place. [Laughter.] Why, look here! Here is a little double mound. I look down on it and I read, "Sacred to the memory of squatter sovereignty and the Dred Scott decision." A million and a half of Democrats voted for that, but it has been dead fifteen years—died by the hand of Abraham Lincoln, and here it lies. [Applause.] Young man, that is not the place for you.

But look a little further. Here is another monument, a black tomb, and beside it, as our distinguished friend said, there towers to the sky a monument of four million pairs of human fetters taken from the arms of slaves, and I read on its little headstone this: "Sacred to the memory of human slavery." For forty years of its infamous life the Democratic party taught that it was divine—God's institution. They defended it, they stood around it, they followed it to its grave as a mourner. But here it lies, dead by the hand of Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.] Dead by the power of the Republican party. [Applause.] Dead by the justice of Almighty God. [Great applause and cheers.] Don't camp there, young man.

But here is another. A little brimstone tomb, [laughter.] and I read across its yellow face in lurid, bloody lines these words: "Sacred to the memory of State sovereignty and secession." Twelve millions of Democrats mustered around it in arms to keep it alive; but here it lies, shot to death by the million guns of the Republic. [Applause.] Here it lies, its shrine burned to ashes under the blazing rafters of the burning Confederacy. [Applause.] It is dead! I would not have you stay in there a minute, even in this balmy night air, to look at such a place. [Laughter.]

But just before I leave it I discover a new-made grave, a little mound—short. The grass has hardly sprouted over it, and all around it I see torn pieces of paper with the word "fiat" on them, [laughter.] and I look down in curiosity, wondering what the little grave is, and I read on it: "Sacred to the memory of the Rag Baby, [laughter:] nursed in the brain of all the fanaticism of the world, [laughter:] rocked by Thomas Ewing, George H. Pendleton, Samuel Cary, and a few others throughout the land." But it died on the 1st of January, 1879, and the one hundred and forty millions of gold that God made, and not fiat power, lie upon its little carcass to keep it down forever. [Prolonged applause.]

Oh, young man, come out of that! [Laughter.] That is no place in which to put your young life. Come out, and come over into this camp of liberty, of order, of law, of justice, of freedom, ["Amen,"] of all that is glorious under these night stars.

Is there any death here in our camp? Yes! Yes! Three hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, the noblest band that ever trod the earth, died to make this camp a camp of glory and of liberty forever. [Tremendous applause.]

But there are no dead issues here. There are no dead ideas here. Hang out our banner from under the blue sky this night until it shall sweep the green turf under your feet! It hangs over our camp. Read away up under the stars the inscription we have written on it, lo! these twenty-five years.

Twenty-five years ago the Republican party was married to liberty, and this is our silver wedding, fellow citizens. [Great applause.] A worthily married pair love each other better on the day of their silver wedding than on the day of their first espousals; and we are truer to liberty to-day and dearer to God than we were when we spoke our first word of liberty. Read away up under the sky across our starry banner that first word we uttered twenty-five years ago. What was it? "Slavery shall never extend over another foot of the Territories of the Great West." [Applause.] Is that dead or alive? Alive, thank God, forevermore! [Applause.] And truer to-night than it was the hour it was written. [Applause.] Then it was a hope, a promise, a purpose. To-night it is equal with the stars—immortal history and immortal truth. [Applause.]

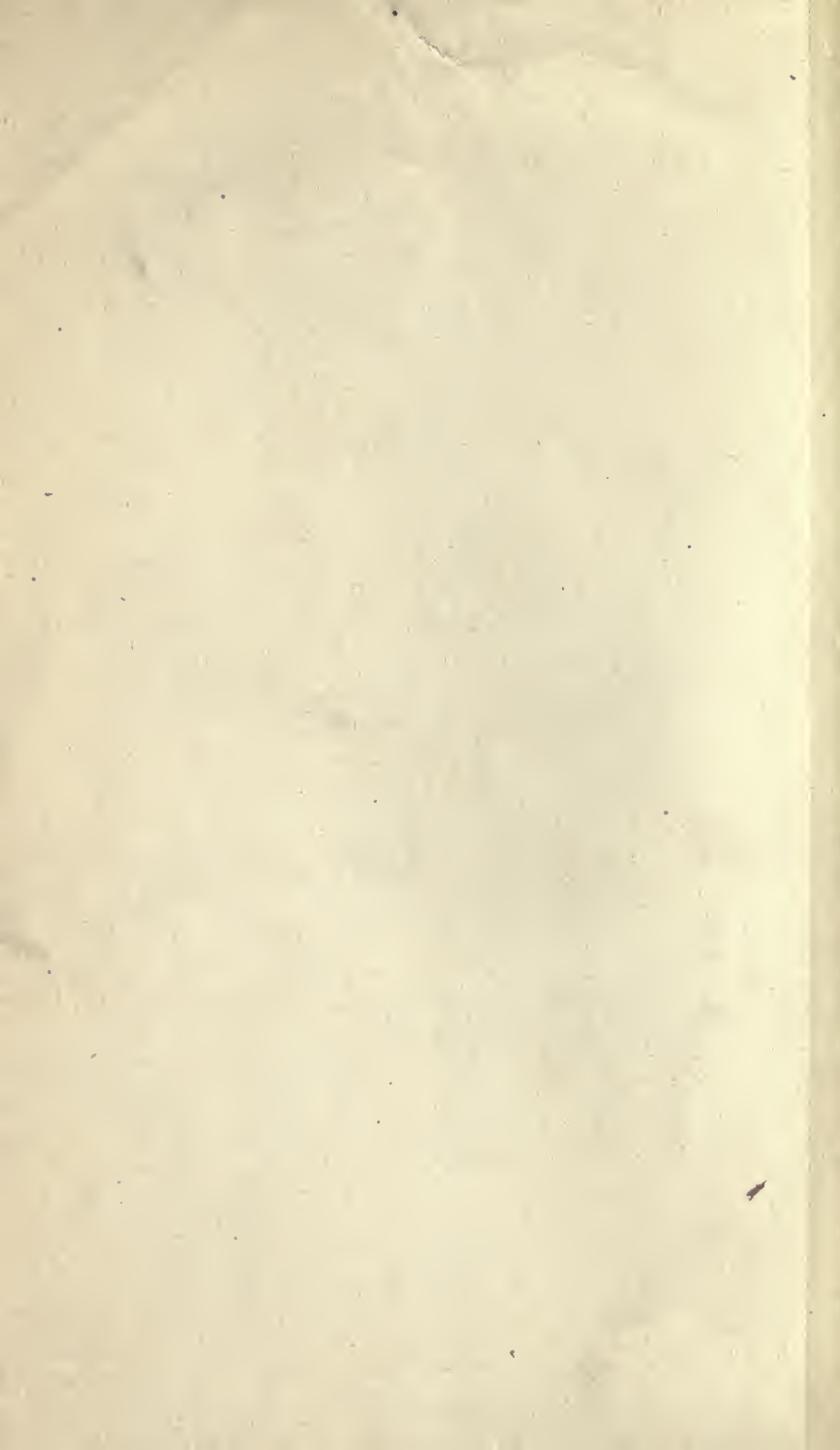
Come down the glorious steps of our banner. Every great record we have made we have vindicated with our blood and with our truth. It sweeps the ground, and it touches the stars. Come there, young man, and put in your young life where all is living, and where nothing is dead but the heroes that defended it! [Applause.] I think these young men will do that. ["Of course they will!"]

Gentlemen, we are closing this memorable campaign. We have got our enemies on the run everywhere. [Laughter.] And all you need to do in this noble old city, this capital of the Western Reserve, is to follow them up and finish it by snowing the rebellion under once more. We stand on an isthmus. This year and next is the narrow isthmus between us and perpetual victory. If you can win now and win in 1880, then the very stars in their courses will fight for us. [Applause.] The census will do the work, and will give us thirty more free men of the North in our Congress that will make up for the rebellion of the South. [Great applause.] We are posted here as the Greeks were posted at Thermopylæ to meet this one great Barbarian Xerxes of the isthmus. Stand in your places, men of Ohio! Fight this battle, win this victory, and then one more puts you in safety forever!

I thank you, fellow-citizens, for your patience.











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